

# IN THESE TIMES



Fasanella's  
three gifts

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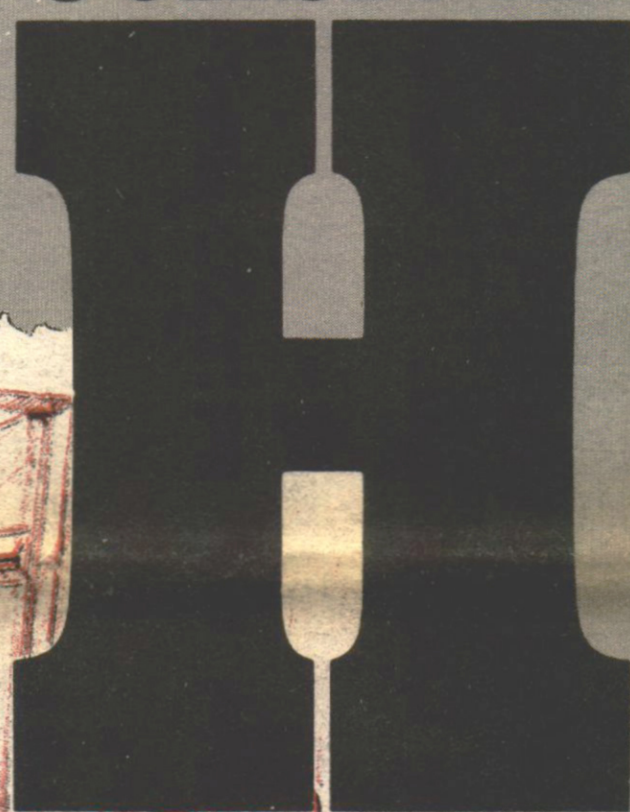
NOVEMBER 21-DECEMBER 4, 1979

70 CENTS

Long Kesh Prison drawings (clockwise from top) show a guard seen as criminal, a prisoner being coerced to wear prison garb and a prisoner naked except for blanket.

## IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

### Letters from Cellblock



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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Busing was an issue in the recent Cleveland election, but apparently more among white liberals than among blacks.

## Cleveland busing threatens populism

The inauguration of busing in Cleveland this September played only a minor role in George Voinovich's election defeat of Dennis Kucinich (ITT, Nov. 14). But to the degree it split Kucinich's active supporters, it poses difficulties for building an "urban populist" coalition in Cleveland.

Cleveland's white and black populations are divided by the Cuyahoga River, which cuts the black East Side off from the white West Side. Under the three-stage busing plan, pupils from one side of the river will be bused to the other side in alternating six-year cycles, so that they spend six years in their own neighborhood, followed by six years on the other side of the river. Eventually, two-thirds of Cleveland's 88,000 public school students will be bused.

Kucinich's longtime opposition to busing reflects his political origins as a West Side white ethnic politician and his conviction that busing will destroy Cleveland's inner city by accelerating the flight of both whites and blacks.

Kucinich also regards housing as a divisive social issue that hopelessly pits poor whites and black against each other. "The substitution of social issues in place of economic issues," he told Washington's Press Club in a September 1978 speech, "far from offering an alternative route to progressive politics, trifles with people's problems; offers false solutions such as the integration of schools that are so bad that you wouldn't want your kids to go to the schools in any case."

This summer, with busing about to begin, Cleveland's City Council appropriated \$30,000 to distribute a federal film on busing. Kucinich vetoed the bill.

On the eve of busing, busing proponents called on Kucinich to make a law-and-order statement, but he refused.

*This edition (Vol. 4, No. 3) published November 21, 1979, for newsstand sales Nov. 21-Dec. 4.*

Kucinich was endorsed in the primary by CORK—Cleveland's anti-busing organization—and at his primary election night party, Kucinich thanked CORK head Norbert Dennerl for his support.

Kucinich's busing stand angered some of his supporters. "I used to be one of Dennis' supporters," prominent black attorney Stanley Tolliver said. "I proposed that the mayor come out with a strong statement for peaceful desegregation. He refused and that hurt him in the black community. He should have come out with a strong law-and-order stand."

Roldo Bartimole, the white publisher of the weekly *Point of View*, described Kucinich's actions as "racist." Bartimole, who had vigorously supported Kucinich in the recall and Muny light campaigns, refused to endorse him against Voinovich, even while acknowledging that Voinovich was "fronting for big business."

Some Kucinich administration members also expressed dissatisfaction with his stand, which they regarded as a break from, rather than an application of, his urban populist strategy of focussing on economic rather than social issues.

Even when the first stage of busing proceeded peacefully—largely, it seems, through Kucinich's pressure on CORK—his critics would not relent. "The lack of violence was coincidental," Bartimole said.

### A reality.

Interviews with members of CORK and WELCOME, the organization that staged a 2000-person march on Sept. 9 in favor of peaceful desegregation, confirmed this divergence among Kucinich followers.

WELCOME is led by Michael Charney, a white Oberlin graduate who has been teaching in the Cleveland schools. Charney denied that WELCOME was "pro-busing." He said that they view desegregation as a "reality" that must be accepted.

Charney acknowledged that Cleveland's white population, which is about 55 percent of the city, is 99 percent against busing. He said that in four years, he had only met one white parent in favor of busing. (Neither Charney nor the other white members of WELCOME that I interviewed were parents. Other white critics like Bartimole live in the suburbs.) Charney also acknowledged that "everyone who can is getting out of Cleveland, blacks as well as whites." He said that he knew "very few parents who would send their children to the Cleveland schools."

Charney saw desegregation as eventually being limited to only the poorest parts of the working class—those who could not afford the suburbs or the Catholic or private schools. In effect, he confirmed Kucinich's argument that busing would accelerate flight, cut the city's tax base, and make it less able to provide for the poorer citizens who remained. But like other proponents of busing, he said he saw no other solution to racial inequality.

Later in our discussion, Charney was joined by four other leaders of WELCOME, three white ex-New Leftists like himself and a middle-aged black steelworker, Bill Younger. I asked them who they were going to vote for. Charney said he wouldn't vote at all. "I would have voted for Kucinich," he said, "but I changed my mind on primary election night, when he enthusiastically embraced Dennerl. To me that was going beyond segregation. That was the last straw." The other three whites agreed with him.

But Younger was for Kucinich. "The man did his job," Younger said. "It didn't make any difference that he didn't work with us. He has a record in favor of the working man. He has come out for the poor."

"Is he for the poor man when he supports CORK?" one of the white radicals muttered sarcastically.

The next day I interviewed black School Board candidate C.J. Prentiss, another leader of WELCOME. Like Younger, she planned to vote for Kucinich, even though, as she said, both Kucinich and Voinovich had committed "racist acts."

### Apple-pie Americans.

The CORK (Citizens Opposed to Rearranging our Kids) office is in a rundown lower-income white neighborhood. Its leader Dennerl is a former city official and former head of Cleveland's Methodist Council.

According to Dennerl, CORK now has 4700 members. Its purpose, he said, was to "stop forced busing in a peaceful manner." His group was spearheading the drive for an anti-busing constitutional amendment and federal anti-busing legislation.

He claimed that CORK was not against "peaceful desegregation or voluntary busing," but only against massive forced busing of their children. "Don't tell us the schools are bad in the East Side and then force us to send our kids to those schools," Dennerl said.

Dennerl took credit for the lack of violence in September. He also rejected any imputation that CORK was linked to "white power" or Nazi organizations. "We're old line join-the-service, go-to-church, PTA, apple-pie Americans," he said. "We don't get involved in any of this white power or Nazi stuff."

He also rejected accusations that CORK was racist. "The only person who uses such a term is a weak black," Dennerl said. "You don't find a strong black man using the term 'racist.' Very few people who use the term could stand up to us in a fight." (It wasn't clear what kind of fight Dennerl was referring to.)

CORK backed Kucinich in the primary, even though he and Voinovich have identical stands on busing. CORK's preference for Kucinich seems to have been based on two factors: Voinovich's appointment to the Sewer Commission the sister of the judge who ruled on the desegregation suit and Kucinich's economic populism. They didn't take an official position in the general election because they were afraid it would hurt Kucinich with black voters.

"Dennis is a good man," Dennerl said. "There's no businessman who runs his business according to who is mayor. But they are going to force this kid out because he don't believe in tax abatements."

"But he's right. The average guy in the street pays more taxes than the average businessman."

Dennerl's attitude toward busing and big business typified Kucinich's lower-income white ethnic supporters. His attitude toward blacks, which only slightly surfaced in his comments about racism, is probably considerably more benign than other white Kucinich supporters or CORK members.

For Kucinich to have ignored or rejected Dennerl and CORK would have been to ignore or reject his primary white base. But in acknowledging their support, he brought on charges that he shared all their attitudes, not just their attitude toward busing and big business.

## The Battle of Cleveland

Anyone wanting to form their own opinion about the Kucinich years will be aided by *The Battle of Cleveland*, an anthology edited by former *In These Times* staff writer Dan Marschall, who was Research Coordinator for the Kucinich administration. It will be available for \$7.95 from the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

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## IN THESE TIMES

# Are the hostages a diversion?

By Paul C. Sullivan

**R**EGARDLESS OF WHAT INTERESTS initiated the seizure of the U.S. embassy and staff in Tehran, the action has produced two immediate consequences for the Iranian revolution. For one thing, steadily growing popular dissatisfaction with the theocratic regime has been diverted, at least temporarily, strengthening Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's rule.

At the same time, the regime's energies have been drawn away from an all-out attack on the Kurdish movement and the left, and have been refocused on the relationship between Iran, the U.S. and the Shah. The resulting diplomatic stalemate has quashed any possibility of a gradual rapprochement between the two governments and has again placed "anti-imperialism" back on center stage in Iran.

Many observers believe Khomeini or his most fervent supporters planned the embassy takeover, primarily as a means of diverting attention from the regime's growing problems. Khomeini's all-out campaign to destroy the Kurdish movement by military force has backfired, leaving hundreds of dead Islamic Pastaran militia scattered across Kurdistan, and creating further disunity within the military. As the morale and fighting strength of Khomeini's forces has waned, the Kurdish movement for regional autonomy has grown stronger and bolder. Rather than suffering the decisive defeat Khomeini predicted, the Kurds have regained control of several key towns and villages.

The country's economic ills have proven even less obedient to theocratic solutions. Continued economic and political uncertainties, the dismissal or flight of key management figures, and unending chaos and confusion within customs offices have reduced foreign investment and imports of spare parts and materials to a trickle, killing thousands of industrial and commercial concerns. Unemployment has swept through every sector of the population like an epidemic, add-

Khomeini's theocratic regime has been increasingly unpopular. The embassy seizure serves to rally support against an old and widely despised enemy.



Two Iranians use the American flag to haul garbage from the occupied U.S. embassy in Tehran. Some 60 Americans and 40 others have been held hostage there since Nov. 4.

ing to the hundreds of thousands in Tehran alone who cannot afford adequate food, clothing or shelter. Garbage-strewn gutters, and polluted irrigation ditches are the only source of water for millions. Inflation has soared to an annual rate of 30 percent.

Unable to make good on his promise of material benefits for the *mostazafin*—the deprived—Khomeini has declared that the sole purpose of the revolution was to "glorify Islam." But declarations and piety alone have been unable to prevent the steady rise of discontent even among those who once followed his leadership

without question.

Unemployed workers as well as progressive and leftist organizations have repeatedly staged militant anti-government demonstrations in Tehran and other major cities and towns. An escalating wave of strikes and other labor actions have raised both political and economic demands and have threatened or disrupted oil and textile production, rail transport, shipping, and other key sectors of the economy.

Seizure of the embassy has relieved the regime of these and a myriad of other pressures for the moment, as all attention

is focused on continued U.S. support of the Shah. It is an easy target. No amount of propaganda citing the suffering of a cancer-ridden Shah will erase the memory of machine-gunned bodies from the minds of the millions who risked their lives to force him from power. The outrage expressed in mass Iranian support for the takeover is a predictable consequence of continued U.S. aid to a despot responsible for the deaths by machine-gun and torture of at least 45,000 people, and the continued impoverishment of millions despite the country's fabulous oil wealth.

But as the action strengthens Khomeini's hand, it has also cancelled whatever rapprochement had begun between the American and Iranian governments. There is reason to believe that this purpose may have motivated the takeover.

In the weeks before the embassy takeover, representatives of the Bazargan government, including Ibrahim Yazdi, one of Khomeini's closest advisers, held a secret meeting with Zbigniew Brzezinski and other American officials in Algiers. No details of the meeting were made public. U.S. corporate interests were also gradually moving back into the country, while U.S. military "advisers" had been returning to their pre-revolutionary assignments, one small group at a time, for months.

Kurdish sources reported that one such group has been training Iranian elite troops in counter-insurgency warfare. Accompanied by attacks on progressive and left forces throughout the country, these moves inspired publications like the London-based *Economist* to predict that the current regime would "eventually emerge as America's ally." (The Marxist Fedayeen have cautioned Khomeini's followers with the same prediction.)

Regardless of who initiated it, the seizure has profoundly shifted attention in Iran from anti-communism to anti-imperialism. Khomeini's continued inability to provide the benefits of the revolution demanded by the popular majority, combined with the anti-imperialist climate generated by the embassy seizure, may well benefit the Iranian left. ■

Paul C. Sullivan recently returned from a three-month visit to Iran.

Or is this a step toward drifting out of this world?

PARIS

The Nov. 4 occupation of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran took Iran "out of the world," out of an internationally shared humanity. The outrageous capture of embassy personnel to back the outrageous demand to yank the Shah from his crumbling throne has deepened the isolation and complicity of the Ayatollah Khomeini and his followers. The incident caused the fall of those who, like Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, were trying to keep a bridge between the two worlds, Khomeini's and the other one.

But the other world is wicked. His country's moral isolation, rather than the Shah's decaying body, may be precisely what Khomeini hopes to get out of this performance.

Most of the emptied cabinet posts in Tehran were quickly filled by Abdol Hassan Bani Sadr, the 46-year-old theoretician of the Islamic revolution, whose *Fundamental Principles of Islamic Government* call for a sort of "Kor-



anic anarchism" in which moral principles replace government institutions in regulating social relations. Bani Sadr comes from a religious family and has studied theology, but he has also lived abroad in exile, studying sociology and economics. As Khomeini's economic adviser (*ITT*, Feb. 14), Bani Sadr theorized an independent economic system with farming based on traditional village communes and industrial production organized around collective "imam committees." He and Khomeini reportedly see eye to eye.

National isolation in a unique moral righteousness recalls the cultural revolutions in China and Cambodia and seems the natural prelude to an attempt at economic autarky. These revolutions mobilize a radical backlash in old, rural humanity against the progressive destruction of traditional ways of life. The radical catastrophes visited on

Third World countries (the most extreme being the U.S. bombing of rural Cambodia) may produce radically visionary responses among peoples who still tend to think of history as shaped by moral forces. Here and there, in contrast to the general trend, the virtue of the countryside rises up and strikes at urban "corruption."

New problems arise when the leaders of these righteous revolutions try to harness their people's moral fervor to production, to use a revived national will to bypass the complexities and restraints of a world economy that increasingly holds all nations in bondage.

Cambodia was insignificant enough to be allowed to drift out of the world economy for a few years. China was big enough to survive alone. Iran seems too much in the middle of too many interests to follow such a course for long.

—Diana Johnstone



## IN SHORT



Betty Friedan

## Family Day builds 'love & intimacy'

The Institute for Labor and Mental Health plans to organize a national "Family Day" during the 1980 presidential campaign for what program creator Dr. Michael Lerner says will be a move to "take the issue of the family out of the hands of the right wing."

Feminist Betty Friedan, speaking at a September "Family Day" at Oakland, Calif., told 3000 participants "family is the cutting edge for the movement of the 1980s" and emphasized "family" to include the single parent family, gay families and other non-traditional families.

Lerner, whose organization includes the active support of Dr. Benjamin Spock, Rep. Ron Dellums, D-Calif., Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee chair Michael Harrington and black feminist Flo Kennedy, says building "love and intimacy" in the family will help build stronger labor and political movements away from home. He says the organization intends to take its message to labor leaders and try to show the links between "stress at the workplace and stress at home."

Friedan blasted a "fringe element" of what she said were feminists unrepresentative of the women's movement for being wary of identification with the "family" rather than the oppressed condition of women who are unequal partners in a family situation.

Friends of the Family can be contacted at 3137 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609.

## Baltimore says yes on rent control

Baltimore voters approved a charter amendment establishing rent control—the first rent control law passed in recent years by referendum in a major U.S. city.

Rent control was opposed by all three Baltimore daily newspapers as well as the city's mayor, city council president and a majority of the 18-member council. The election results sent packing Solem and Associates, a San Francisco-based consulting firm that had boasted a seven-to-nothing record in defeating rent control measures in other cities. The law is slated to go into effect Dec. 6—if it survives several court challenges leveled by landlord groups.

With 54 percent of the city's inhabitants renting and vacancy levels below Housing and Urban Development five percent "emergency" levels, a coalition of liberals and leftists spent only about \$8,000 compared to more than \$275,000 by the anti-control side in the campaign.

The Baltimore charter amendment is to establish a five-member tenant-landlord commission to roll back rents to 1978 levels. It will then set annual ceilings. Appointed by the city council, the commission will include two landlords, two tenants and one homeowner. It will also

be empowered to hold back rent increases on apartments not meeting building codes, fine landlords exceeding the ceilings and grant special increases to pay for major repairs.

The commission will also review all attempts to remove properties from the rental market and hire a staff to be paid by fees charged to landlords for each building owned.

## Cambridge picks socialist councilor

Following precedents set in recent years by Detroit, New York and Washington, D.C., Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 6 elected its first socialist city councilmember.

David Sullivan, an attorney, tenants rights activist and member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), finished second in a proportional representation election which picked nine councilors at large, doubling his vote over a similar bid in 1977 in which he finished 10th, eight votes out of the running.

Sullivan's supporters attribute his strong showing to his close personal identification with Cambridge's rent control plan at a time when neighboring Somerville and Boston have lost similar controls, to his stand against condominium conversion and to a political style stressing community organizing as a means to revitalize local government.

—Peter Mandler



Minneapolis Mayor-elect Don Fraser

## Dems fare well in offyear elections

Off year elections resulted in Democratic mayors maintaining much of their power in big cities, with the notable exception of a GOP dumping of Cleveland Mayor Dennis Kucinich.

Don Fraser will be the new mayor of Minneapolis. The liberal candidate of the Democratic Farmer Labor Party made a political comeback after losing a bid in senatorial primaries 14 months earlier. Fraser led his nearest challenger—-independent Charles Stenvig—by about two-to-one.

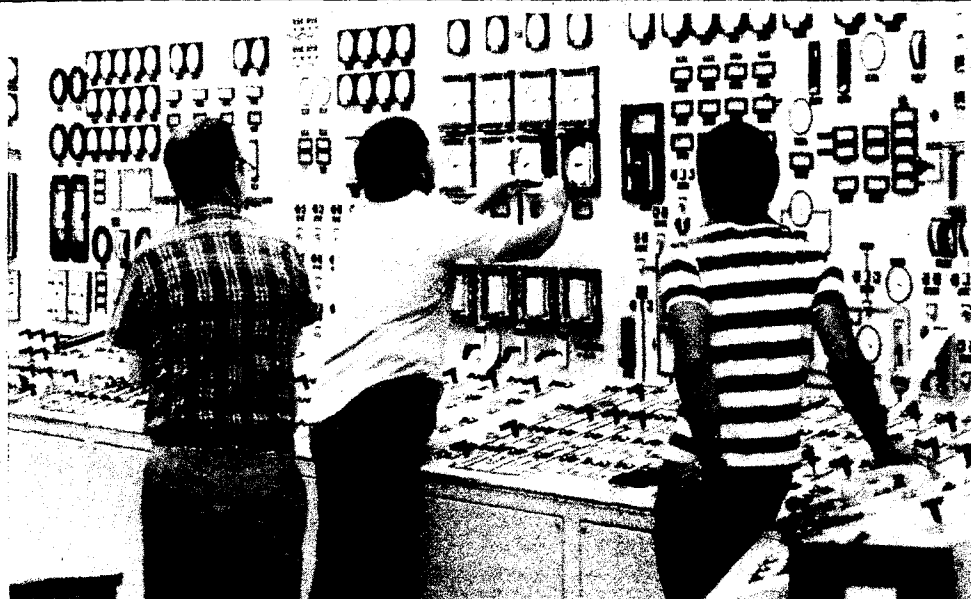
Boston Mayor Kevin White won an unprecedented fourth term, defeating Massachusetts state senator Joseph Timilty.

In Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher was elected to a record fourth term, beating Republican W. Robert Borman. Hatcher, one of the nation's most well-entrenched black politicians, is due for the presidency of the U.S. Conference of Mayors next year.

In San Francisco, Dianne Feinstein, filling the vacancy left by the murder of Mayor George Moscone, ended up in a runoff with Supervisor Quentin Kopp in her bid to become the city's first female mayor. A gay candidate for the office, city board of permit appeals president David Scott, placed third in the contest.

Jello Biafra, the lead singer of the punk rock band "The Dead Kennedys," shook up a few politicians by placing fourth in the San Francisco race—ahead of a long list of independent candidates.

New York's New Alliance Party moved from sixth to second place, but failed to



Advocate/Alan Decker

## OCAW strike leaves uranium plant in hands of scabs

A uranium enrichment factory that produces the stuff atomic bombs are made of is being run at 30 to 40 percent capacity by untrained scab labor while striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) demand a federal investigation of "unparalleled" nuclear safety and labor law violations by Goodyear Atomic Corporation at the southern Ohio town of Piketon.

The facility, owned by the government and run by Goodyear, is the only weapons grade uranium enrichment plant of its kind in the western world, according to OCAW Local 3-689 president Denny Bloomfield.

Last week Bloomfield and other union leaders met with Ohio's Democratic Senators John Glenn and Howard Metzenbaum in Washington as the union's battle to oust Goodyear management from the Department of Energy-owned nuclear facility dragged on. The union has been on strike since May 3.

The DOE, which as the Nuclear Energy Commission gave Goodyear operational control of the fledgling enrichment process in Ohio in 1955, has denied workers the right to call in third party government agencies such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to look into union grievances.

OCAW has filed more than 2600 grievances at the facility since 1976.

The company has been faulted in complaints including a worker getting a possible lethal dose of radiation and searing, more than 200 degree F work areas that "blister your feet right through your shoes," Bloomfield said.

Since Goodyear only manages the plant for the government, the cost of fighting union grievances is passed on to the taxpayer—an issue recently investigated by the General Accounting Office.

elect machine Democrat-turned-progressive Joe Galiber to the presidency of the Bronx.

Eighteen percent of Bronx voters pulled the lever for the New Alliance Party—far short of victory, but enough votes to cause 500 party stalwarts to hold a "victory" celebration, anyway. The party got a majority of votes in black and Hispanic precincts, although machine Democrat Stanley Simon, who outspent New York state senator Galiber six-to-one, will preside over the New York City borough of 1.25 million.

Big spending by the throw-away industry is blamed for the trashing of the Ohio Alliance for Returnables campaign to get voters to OK a ten cent deposit on all beer and soft drink containers. The returnable bottle and can referendum, patterned after Michigan's successful cutback on litter after passage of a container deposit law, was defeated in all 88 Ohio counties.

Commenting on the beverage container industry's \$1 million media blitz and GOP Governor James Rhodes' attacks

Bloomfield said after 1975, work conditions went from bad to worse due in part to what he said is Goodyear's desire to get even with OCAW for its role in blocking a move by Goodyear, the Bechtel Corp. and the Williams Co. to open the first privately owned uranium enrichment facility in Alabama.

Bloomfield says the best solution for the Piketon operation is to get new plant management. "Anybody would be better than Goodyear," he said. "Goodyear is using taxpayer dollars to break our union."

After last week's Capitol Hill meeting, aides to Glenn and Metzenbaum backed up Bloomfield in what he called a "confrontation" with DOE officials.

At press time, the DOE was promising to decide in a few days whether it would allow an investigation, but Bloomfield told IN THESE TIMES "based on past performance, they're going to say no."

Meanwhile in Ohio, office secretaries and other non-union employees are operating the maze of computers, wiring and piping at the sprawling, 3000 acre plant that processes deadly Uranium-235 and Uranium-238 by means of high pressure gasification. The OCAW workers—almost all carrying top-ranked "Q" security classification from the DOE—undergo at least 65 weeks of training for such tasks. But Bloomfield says most of the scabs at the plant made the job switch with a weekend's notice.

Outside the plant and past the picket lines, environmentalists and anti-nuke groups have joined the union's side, forming a Washington based support coalition.

For more details, contact Citizens Organization for a Safe Nuclear Policy, 514 C St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. 202/546-4868.

on "forced deposits" (the pro-returnable side spent about \$90,000), Alliance for Returnables campaign manager Jerry Austin said "they only people they didn't have come out against us were the Pope and the ayatollah."

Also in Ohio, Republican Mayor Tom Moody won a third term from Columbus voters.

The capital city's conservative leader was challenged by former municipal court judge Bill Boyland, who had wide support from the city's liberals and leftists. Boyland, who had gained notoriety in connection with early '70s political upheavals at the nearby Ohio State University campus, got 42 percent of the vote compared to Moody's 58 percent.

And in Macon, Ga., GOP city council George Israel defeated "Machine Gun Ronnie" Thompson in Thompson's comeback try for mayor.

"Machine Gun Ronnie," who served from 1967 to 1975, got his nickname after shooting at an alleged sniper as part of his "shoot to kill" crackdown on crime during the early 1970s.



# IN THE NATION

## PHILADELPHIA

### The Rizzo forces take a bad beating

By Greg Meyer

**V**OTERS IN PHILADELPHIA FINISHED a job they started a year ago as the door slammed shut on a political era dominated by cent-overseer mayor Frank L. Rizzo on Nov. 6. William J. Green, 41, swept to victory in a three-way mayoral race by promising to heal a city laced with racial, ethnic and class tensions. The boyish Green, a six-term member of Congress and son of a former Philadelphia Democratic powerbroker, garnered 52 percent of the vote for his platform of liberal reform and his call for unity. The strong showing, especially in the city's black wards, is interpreted here as a mandate for change from the city as a whole.

Reinforcing the anti-Rizzo message, voters dramatically altered the character and complexion of City Council. Three Democratic challengers out-pollied Rizzo's two staunchest allies, both incumbents, in the city-wide council-at-large race. Observers now say that a loose coalition of progressive Democrats and moderate Republicans will hold a majority of 11 votes, more than enough to swing power away from the Rizzo sympathizers. Of the 17 council seats, five will be filled by blacks and five by women.

Mayor Rizzo was unable to run for a third term after a referendum last fall to abolish the two-term limit dictated by the city charter failed.

The Nov. 6 returns indicated increasing sophistication on the part of blacks. As one political aide explained, "Blacks in Philadelphia have learned precisely who their friends are."

#### The black candidate.

The wild card in the mayor's race was Consumer Party candidate Lucien E. Blackwell, president of Local 1332 of the International Longshoremen's Association. Blackwell, whose West Philadelphia turf includes some of the city's poorest communities, focused attention on the lack of housing, inadequate schools and the dearth of public money returned to working class neighborhoods.

Blackwell launched his candidacy with the hope of inheriting black community support given a prominent black attorney, Charles Bowser, in the Democratic mayoral primary last spring. At that time nine of every 10 black voters supported Bowser over Green. But several factors undercut Blackwell's third party candidacy as the summer wore on.

First, Bowser charged that errors in the tally stole the election from him. Philadelphians had grown accustomed to sleazy election practices under the Rizzo administration, but evidence finally surfaced casting doubt on Bowser's claim. Yet the protest continued. Green moved quickly to make conciliatory gestures toward the bitter Bowser. These actions showed Green to be the wiser politician when Bowser's campaign manager and other key aides turned up in his organization. Bowser then announced his retirement from politics.

Second, the stark black versus white split in the primary balloting had embarrassed the candidate who claimed to be the one to bring unity and togetherness to the City of Brotherly Love. Green stepped up his drive for the black vote by issuing a "statement of conscience" that stressed his strong voting record on civil rights issues in Congress, his plans for the city's schools and neighborhoods and a promise to appoint a black city managing director.

As Green's strategy gained momentum he won the endorsement of Phila-



Philadelphia's liberal new mayor and family on election eve.

### Blacks play a leading role in the defeat of conservatives. They will be a growing force in the City of Brotherly Love.

delphia's only black in Congress, U.S. Rep. William H. Gray 3d, and cemented his ties to the consensus-oriented politicians in the black community.

Blackwell, meanwhile, came to be identified with the more militant and confrontation-style black leaders who had refused to give up Bowser's fight. He gathered only a handful of union endorsements and virtually none of the support from the black church, an essential ingredient for black political success in Philadelphia.

#### Diversity.

In the end, Green wooed about half of the black vote to his camp on election day. Though Blackwell carried nine black wards, Green carried 11. Blackwell finished with 18 percent of the vote.

"People have to wake up to the fact that not all black folks are alike," said Rep. Gray as he shook hands with well-wishers at the Green victory party. The man who took the heat for endorsing Green refused to hold an "I told you so" attitude toward his critics.

"The black community is not monolithic," he said. "No one man controls Philadelphia's black votes. The people decide for themselves," he said.

"Philadelphia will elect a black mayor soon," said Augusta A. Clark, the top vote-getter in the council-at-large race, "but it will have to be with a well-oiled, well-financed team."

Clark, a black attorney in her first bid at elective office, said Blackwell started much too late to overcome the frontrunner. Though she refused to endorse any mayoral candidate, everyone knew where her political mentor, Bill Gray, stood.

Clark expects Green to keep his pledges to the black community by ushering in a new era of "active, responsive and professional government."

Now that blacks have shown their political muscle, the community is spawning diverse approaches for gaining power. "The differences are healthy," com-

mented Clark. "All black politicians basically want more say for black people."

But a striking example of the division can be seen in the election of John C. Anderson to a councilman-at-large seat with the second highest vote total. During the primary this black attorney, another political novice, had a name recognition problem. The man who did the most to raise Anderson above the pack of 103 Democratic contenders was Lucien Blackwell.

"He put Anderson on the spot by deciding to run for mayor after the primary," said Saul Schorr, Anderson's campaign manager. "But it is a credit to Blackwell that his candidacy was not intended to hurt others. Lucien went out of his way not to put John out on a limb."

Anderson stopped short of endorsing Blackwell for mayor and kept his channels open to black politicians in the Green camp.

#### The Republicans.

Green's Republican opponent for mayor David W. Marston took 29 percent of the vote in a city where Democrats hold a 7-to-2 registration edge. The former U.S. Attorney who received the distinction of being fired by President Carter on national television never found a natural constituency.

During the primary he sounded a liberal call to arms trying to build a coalition of blacks, anti-machine Democrats and moderate Republicans. When that strategy fizzled, he swung sharply to the right and appealed to Rizzo's law and order followers.

A fourth contender, Nora Danielson of the Socialist Workers Party, received less than one percent of the vote. She advocated formation of a labor party as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. Her campaign, which received more publicity than most SWP races in recent years, cast all three challengers as handmaidens of big business.

"A lot of us thought Blackwell would

represent something different," Danielson said, "but he is campaigning for a partnership with big business. He claims he is a loyal Democrat."

The B&O railroad clerk said her constituency is composed primarily of people who do not bother voting because they don't feel they can change things. "Those are the people we are talking to," she said.

The three-way race might have been closer had equal resources been spent by all candidates. On election day Green had raised over \$2.1 million compared to Marston's \$340,000 and Blackwell's \$36,000. Over half of Green's contributions went to pay for the services of media consultant David Garth and for television time.

The Green war chest swelled as nearly all major unions and businesses lined up behind his candidacy.

Greg Harvey, an attorney with the Green camp and former president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action, tells the story of his candidate addressing an ADA dinner this fall. Green read from a prepared text sounding all the common themes of his campaign. The diners looked at each other saying, "Nice delivery, but what else is new?"

When Green finished, he looked up and told the audience, "Every word I read came from two speeches I delivered to the ADA in 1968 and 1970."

As Greg Harvey sees it, at least Bill Green is consistent. When asked how the Green administration would be a contrast to the Rizzo legacy, Harvey offered an example, "Public funds will be turned from buying ornate communications gear for the police department to the construction or rehabilitation of housing."

"Those kinds of priorities will mark a policy watershed," said the man who is most frequently mentioned as the next city solicitor.

The City Council, formerly a rubber stamp for the mayor's wishes, shows great signs of vitality. The possibility exists that Lucien Blackwell, who retained his seat as Third District councilman, may be its next president. It is already understood that Green will have to devolve some of his power to the council simply to keep the ship of state floating. ■ *Greg Meyer writes regularly for In These Times.*



## SAN FRANCISCO

By Chester Hartman

SAN FRANCISCO

**S**AN FRANCISCO MAY WELL BE on its way to losing its reputation as a progressive city. November 6th was a disaster for the left. Voter initiatives on housing cost controls, high-rise height limits, shifting the local tax base to large businesses and abolishing the police vice squad (this last proposal emanating from the Libertarian Party) all lost. In the mayor's race, conservative Supervisor Quentin Kopp (slightly refurbished for the occasion with a "neighborhood" veneer) trailed incumbent Dianne Feinstein (herself a middle-of-the-roader) by just 3,300 votes and has a good chance of winning the Dec. 11 runoff.

The city's voters even approved (although by only 54 percent compared with its three-to-one statewide margin) the local spending control initiative pushed by Proposition 13 co-author Paul Gann. All in all, not a terrific day here.

The weather on election day lent these results a natural as well as political explanation. Threatening skies began to open up around 2:30 p.m. and by 6:00 p.m. it was raining hard, leading many to head home after work instead of making a quick polling booth stop. The 54 percent turnout—very low for a San Francisco mayoral election—was in part attributable to this and in part to the lack of exciting candidates, particularly for the citywide offices. Curiously, although the left placed some provocative and important initiatives on the ballot, there were no citywide candidates who served to bring out left votes.

Perhaps most painful was the drubbing received by Proposition R—the Affordable Housing Initiative. Only 41 percent of the voters said yes in a 70 percent renter city. The measure was put together by a coalition of labor, neighborhood, church and other groups (some 50 in all) working together since January. It was a comprehensive housing reform proposal—controls over rents, evictions, condominium conversions and housing speculation, with provisions also to aid homeowners and add to the housing supply. Most polls had it well ahead two weeks before election day.



Quentin Kopp

Dianne Feinstein

## Left initiatives lose in San Francisco

### Even though seven of 10 residents are renters, rent control lost badly in a conservative sweep.

But in the final two weeks the town's real estate interests (aided by brethren in other parts of California and the nation) poured over a half million dollars into a media blitz of unprecedented proportions for San Francisco. On a per capita basis, they spent three times what the tobacco industry spent to defeat last year's statewide measure to limit smoking in public places. Based on reports filed two weeks before election day (and representing about two-thirds of what will finally be reported) the No on R campaign had secured 191 \$500 contributions (the legal maximum), 407 contributions in excess of \$200. Over 10 percent of their money (including 33 of the \$500 contributions) came from outside the city or state.

The No on R money was used to saturate TV and radio with 30- and 60-second spots. A dozen pinpointed mailings went out to computerized lists of voters (homeowners, gays, small landlords, public housing residents, newly registered voters, tenants, blacks, etc.) Some households reported receiving as many as eight pieces of mail from the campaign in a single day.

A widely shown TV commercial, designed to capitalize on the post Prop. 13 aversion to bureaucracy, showed a landlord and tenant carrying a carpet into a tenant's apartment, at which point an "inspector" appears from behind the bushes to ask whether the tenant has gotten approval from the govern-

ment rent control board for this, and then asserts to the surprised pair that under Prop. R the board "has to approve every rent agreement, whatever the reason." The proposed ordinance contained no such requirement. Prop. R backers offered a legally binding \$100,000 reward to anyone who could prove that it did, but that didn't stop the commercial.

The spectre of the Bronxification of San Francisco was harped on constantly, playing on the city's narcissism (and to an extent on the East Coast roots of many current residents).

San Franciscans for Affordable Housing, the Yes on R. coalition, managed to raise some \$45,000, a respectable figure, considering that many traditional sources of liberal money were unavailable. The relative scarcity of funds meant little access to direct mail and television and radio.

Tenants were reluctant to place Yes on R signs in their windows for fear of landlord reprisal. Owners of apartment buildings, construction sites, parking lots, and realty offices (of which there are some 2500 in the San Francisco yellow pages, for the most part located on well travelled streets) plastered No on R signs (with the message "Build Housing, Not Bureaucracy") all over their properties.

One of the most difficult hurdles the campaign faced was the fact that the Board of Supervisors—as a way of heading off the initiative—in June had unanimously passed both rent control and condominium conversion control ordinances. Although the city rent control law is probably the weakest in the country, the appeal of the "let's give the new law a chance" argument was hard to fight. The city's law permits seven percent annual rent increases over and above increases needed to cover repairs and improvements, permits landlords to raise rents at will in between tenancies (which predictably led to a big increase in evictions) and expires next September. Under Prop. R, rent increases could be obtained only for documented cost increases (or to achieve a fair rate of return on investment). New as well as existing tenants were covered, arbitrary evictions were controlled and the ordinance would have stayed in effect so long as the housing crisis persisted.

## CALIFORNIA

# The spirit of Proposition 13 survives a second test

### But the state propositions that won had little serious opposition from liberal forces.

By Wink Glennon

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

**C**ALIFORNIA'S NOV. 6 SPECIAL election, only the 12th special balloting called since the turn of the century, was originally seen as a political battle of major proportions. But by the time voters went to the polls, it had turned into little more than an expensive opinion poll. The issue that prompted the California state legislature to resort to the little used special election procedures was an anti-busing measure sponsored by State Senator Alan Robbins, an anti-busing leader who represents voters in the integration troubled Greater Los Angeles School District.

The legislators, fearing a fierce and emotional battle, wanted to avoid voter fallout in next year's scheduled election, when one third of the senate and the entire assembly would be on the ballot. Once the special election had been called, three other proposed constitutional amendments were tacked on. Two of them, a measure to change the state's outdated usury laws, and a measure de-

signed to protect veterans property tax exemptions in the wake of Proposition 13, which last year slashed property taxes to 25 percent of their previous level, had little opposition. The other, Proposition 4, was officially titled "The Spirit of 13" and was designed to limit increases in state and local government spending to the increase in the consumer price index.

Both the anti-busing proposition (Prop. 1) and the spending limitation (Prop. 4) were heavily financed by business and conservative interests and major opposition never materialized.

The anti-busing proposal was designed to circumvent the usually more liberal California Supreme Court by requiring the state to follow federal busing guidelines. At the time the measure was put on the ballot, the U.S. Supreme Court had only required forced integration in cases where segregation had been caused by government intent, but the California Supreme Court had insisted that segregation be eliminated where reasonable and feasible, regardless of cause. Since the special election was called, however, the U.S. Supreme Court moved much closer to the position taken by the California court. In two Ohio cases, the fed-

eral court ruled that segregation need not result from direct government action with discriminatory intent.

Proposition 4, which limits increased government spending by consumer price index and population growth was headed by its sponsor Paul Gann as "the logical followup to Proposition 13." Gann claimed that the measure would save taxpayers billions of dollars; however, a report by California legislative analyst William Hamm prior to the election claimed that the effect of the measure couldn't be predicted, and at least in the short run would be minor.

Critics of the measure, including the California Tax Reform Association claim that the measure is so loaded with loopholes and exceptions that it couldn't effectively limit government spending even in times of moderate inflation and claim that a major overhaul of the state's tax system will soon become a state priority nullifying whatever effect Prop. 4 would have.

When California voters went to the polls, they passed both measures overwhelmingly, and the results have been widely interpreted as a major political swing to the right. However a closer reading of the returns indicated that this special election was indeed special. The voter turnout was only half that of the last general election. It was heavily skewed by special interests. Voters in the anti-busing strongholds of Southern California turned out in heaviest numbers—nearly 43 percent of the registered voters,

while the black communities turned out barely 25 percent.

Significantly, the most controversial issue voted on in California, rent control, came up with a split decision. Santa Monica, which had passed a strict rent control measure last year defeated a landlord sponsored initiative to gut rent control, but in El Monte, a neighboring Southern California city, a first time effort to pass a rent control measure was defeated.

In Santa Monica, a well established and organized coalition, the Fair Rent Alliance, beat back the heavily financed and deceptively run campaigning against rent control. The coalition, composed of local progressive organizations, labor unions and senior citizen groups, picked up a seat on the city council in the process, adding rent control spokesperson Cheryl Rhoden to the two incumbent alliance members on the seven member council.

The campaign against rent control spent over \$300,000 to the alliance's \$30,000 and ran on a slogan of "save rent control." It was accompanied by considerable red baiting of members of the Fair Rent Alliance.

Members of the Fair Rent Alliance stress that their victory was built on years of organizing and a well trained and efficient campaign organization. El Monte rent control advocates had neither the history of community organizing nor the effective campaign machinery to overcome the highly financed and professionally run opposition.



## ACADEMIC UNIONISTS



## Teachers call for a new kind of union

By David Sprintzen

HEMPSTAD, N.Y.

**M**EETING UNDER THE cloud of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker's statement that Americans were going to have to accept a further decline in their standard of living, some 190 academic unionists gathered here Oct. 19-21. Attending this fourth annual Conference of Academic Unionists, hosted by the Collective Bargaining Coalition of Long Island Colleges and Universities, were representatives from all varieties of colleges and universities and from locals affiliated with the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the National Education Association (NEA) and those without affiliation. Delegates came from as far away as California, Michigan and Florida. The meeting was an assembly of local labor leaders in higher education with only slight representation from the national offices of the AAUP, AFT or NEA.

A deep ambivalence pervaded the conference. Delegates were torn between the gloom of an increasingly contracting economy and the excitement generated by an emerging sense of solidarity. At first the littany of sorrows held sway. In the keynote address, Robert Lekachman, professor of Economics at the City University of New York, sought to locate the institutions of higher education within the framework of an economic system in contradiction with itself, in which all the old solutions no longer work. Virginia Mulrooney, Executive Secretary of the College Teachers Guild of Los Angeles, AFT, then surveyed the massive contradiction of California higher education in the post-Proposition 13 era. She detailed how property tax reduction is being paid for by teachers in the public sector through larger classes, more unemployment, reduction in fringe benefits and minimal salary increases in a time of double-digit inflation.

The extent of the onslaught on higher education, both public and private, was clear to all. In the face of pressures from increasing inflation, spending cuts, the public's growing refusal to bear the burden of an unfair tax system and admin-

istrative attempts at consolidation, retrenchment of faculty and an almost pervasive attack on faculty governance, the most pressing concern of many delegates was how to hold one's own in collective bargaining.

Addressing the gathering at dinner on the second evening, Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), evoked the sense of being up against the wall that teachers share with other trade unionists.

manent structure. But conference co-ordinator Phil Nicholson, first vice-president of the Nassau Community College Federation of Teachers, broached the challenge facing the conference in his introductory remarks: "We will need to build stronger bonds of organization and unity across campuses, state lines and across the wide gaps that divide our so-called public and private institutions as well as those gaps that divide us from other workers," he said.

As the conference progressed, the importance of this call became increasingly

**Victor Gotbaum told the conference that labor had always tried to make the system work, but that it's not working anymore.**

"It is difficult for me to talk for the labor movement. There is no labor movement. There are movements within a movement. But there has been basically a labor ideology. We talk about it in terms of Samuel Gompers' statement of 'More.' We've worked within the institutions and within the system, especially within the economic system. And it's been relatively successful—except for the last decade. And we find that when the system breaks down and doesn't work we are fairly helpless."

These words expressed a sentiment that seemed to be widely shared at the conference. But coming together to express these common anxieties also seemed to have a cathartic effect. As they were shared, new ideas and strategies began to be expressed. As Gotbaum himself said, "We worked within a system we really couldn't control. But this has basically been the labor movement's thrust. I think it's beginning to break down. We've always looked to make the system work. Well, it's not working.... New sets of forces are engulfing us."

The search for new directions for organized labor emerged as the central theme of the conference. At the three previous gatherings, delegates firmly rejected attempts to give the conference a per-

manent structure, and even animosity, that has so deeply divided the leadership of the major national teacher unions.

In fact, the continuing state of active belligerence between the national leadership of the AFT and the NEA cast a further shadow over the conference. Pressure from their national office brought about the withdrawal of almost all of the NEA staff representatives who had agreed to participate. It did not, however, prevent the active participation of elected leaders of NEA-affiliated locals.

The sentiment of the delegates was well expressed by Martin Morand, Director of the Center for the Study of Labor Relations at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, when he observed that "there was a time, about 10 years ago, when the competing national organizations made a positive contribution by their competition.... That day is past."

To give substance to this emerging conviction, at the concluding business meeting the delegates voted 1) to establish on a permanent basis the Conference of Academic Unionists; 2) to authorize the formation of a Steering Committee composed of one representative from each participating union local; and 3) to set up a sub-committee to draft a statement of

purpose. Underscoring the significance of these actions, Richard Hazely, President of the Association of Pennsylvania State College and University Faculties, AFT-AAUP, and a founding representative to the conferences, observed that these decisions, which "would have been regarded with a great deal of apprehension four years ago, when this Conference first met, [constitute] a momentous half-step forward."

In seeking to give voice to the new directions for academic unionism that the conference seemed to articulate, Bertell Ollman, of the Department of Politics, New York University, noted that "We are at the same time professionals and workers. But the problems we are talking about, from which we are suffering, and for which we are trying to find a solution, are not problems we have as professionals, but problems we have as workers. If our problems are general to the entire working class, then our solutions cannot be approached piece-meal.... The solution is to improve the living conditions of all working people."

When Ollman went on to call for the creation of a labor party, no one at the workshop objected. The desirability of such a move seemed to be taken for granted. Discussion centered instead on the immediate relevance of such political activity. Some said that protecting their members from budget cuts and firings now precluded independent politics. Ollman insisted that this was the only practical thing to do. Only the establishment of a labor party can force politicians to take labor's immediate needs seriously, he said.

In the end, the conference centered on the conflict between traditional trade union strategies, which everyone present seemed to agree had come to a dead-end, and the straining effort to envision an alternative direction. Paul Lauter, former president of the College at Old Westbury chapter of United University Professionals, AFT, suggested that as unionists the need was to speak much more creatively and constructively to affirmative action and curricula.

Lauter argued the need to redefine the issues and thus to change the framework of political discussion. Otherwise, he warned, academics are bound to remain on the defensive, "fighting over the crumbs left over by the corporate agenda."



## DETENTE

# Cuba conference calls for the lifting of trade embargo



Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) who spoke at the Cuba conference.

By Joanna Foley

NEW YORK

**"E**VEN CONSERVATIVE Congress members are getting interested in normalizing U.S. relations with Cuba," said Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) to 1,000 people gathered at Riverside Church. "But they're afraid to express their interest openly because then someone might run against them," he said.

At the recent first national conference

on Cuba, Dellums was a natural choice as keynote speaker. In 1977, he visited Cuba to try to improve relations between the two countries. He also spoke with Fidel Castro during his recent UN visit.

The three-day conference attracted participants beyond the left-liberal constituency represented by Dellums. On hand were businessmen from the Cuban-American Business Alliance, American and Cuban-American academics, economists, union staffers and filmmakers. "We brought together people interested in Cuba who may find it useful to get acquainted," said Gordon Adams, a conference planning committee member.

More than 500 people attended from the San Francisco Bay area, Florida, Colorado, Michigan and the East Coast. Sponsor of the gathering was New York's Center for Cuban Studies.

Conference participation reflected the changes taking place in the Cuban-American community. As Antonio Maceo Brigade members rubbed shoulders with business leaders, they compared notes on their trips to Cuba. Political diversity is growing because of the community's response to "the dialog." A year ago, Castro invited Cuban Americans, formerly called "gusanos" (worms) to return for visits to their homeland.

"The dialog hit the Cuban community like a bombshell," said Lourdes Casal, a Rutgers psychologist and writer. "Some people poured out newsprint and showered insults. But behind closed



Cuban ambassador to the UN, Raul Roa.

**"Today everybody wants to trade—the Cuban government, American business leaders, even Bay of Pigs veterans,"** said a business consultant.

doors, they got on the phone to Havana to find out more. This was one bandwagon they didn't want to miss," Casal said. Since then, almost 100,000 "mariposas" (butterflies) have made the trip.

## The embargo.

At the conference, workshops ranged from "a socialist concept of human rights" to the "new Cuban cinema." But whatever the topic scheduled for discussion, the embargo against trade with Cuba invariably popped up. In 1960 the U.S. tried to isolate Cuba economically. Today it no longer discourages other nations from trading with Cuba—in fact, 138 countries now do business there—but the U.S. still holds the line.

Peace activist Cora Weiss pointed out the embargo's contradictions. "It's curious that Alicia Alonso can dance at the Met for months," she said, "and Barbara Walters interviews in Havana, but the embargo continues."

Strong support for ending the embargo came from the U.S. and Cuban-American business people. "Today everybody wants to trade—the Cuban government, American business leaders, even Bay of Pigs veterans," said Kirby Jones in the workshop on trade. Jones is a consultant who conducts Cuban tours for American business people.

"Many products are traded to Cuba through foreign subsidiaries of large American corporations," noted another workshop participant. "The embargo serves their interests by eliminating competition from small and medium sized firms."

Consumers pay a price for the embargo, according to Noel Blackman, a seafood importer. "The high cost of American seafood is related to the high cost of oil," said the self-described capitalist. "Cuba is the best seafood producer in the world today; we'll import \$50 million in the first year after the embargo is lifted."

The embargo has continued to operate even when the political climate has improved. Sometimes results have been comic. In 1977, for example, a thaw in U.S.-Cuba relations culminated in the opening of diplomatic "interest sections" in Washington and Havana. Ironically, however, the embargo overseer wouldn't let his own government pay carpenters to set up an office. Cuba has to float a dollar loan to get things underway.

## Contradicciones Siempre

Some continuing contradictions in U.S.-relations reverberated at the conference. Only two weeks after U.S. troops landed at Guantanamo in a muscle-flexing display, Cuban and American diplomats

were appearing on the same platform. They even agreed on one major point: The warming relations that began in 1977 will now simmer on the back burner at least until the next president is elected.

A small crisis still unfolding during the conference was Cuba's heated contest for the U.N. Security Council's Latin American seat. Raul Roa, Cuban UN ambassador, arrived late for one workshop and missed another. He said, "It's very evident from the last row where we sit that the U.S. is lobbying prominently for Columbia." John Graham of the U.S. Mission resented the accusation: "Cuba has distorted our actions and lost support by their criticism."

Roa reported that Cuba was leading by 20 votes but lacked the two-thirds majority. The Security Council will not be able to meet until the new member is elected.

Later the exchange between American and Cuban officials was more cordial. Graham joined Dellums and Ramon Sanchez Parodi, Cuba's interest section chief, as a speaker at the conference plenary. Graham sees himself as a liberal fighting for change within the system. He conceded to the audience, "Cuba often serves as a whipping boy for the frustrations the U.S. feels in its relations with the Soviet Union."

## Anti-embargo campaign.

"This conference has knocked a small but significant dent in the Cuban embargo," said James Cockcroft, a Rutgers professor, during the foreign policy workshop. By the final day, conference participants had decided to make an even larger dent. The organized plans for a national anti-embargo campaign.

Strong support is expected from the Cuban-American community. Even many who opposed the Cuban government are eager to develop new markets there. Ten thousand Cubans have already signed a similar petition to Carter.

Conference participants will lobby their political representatives to support Rep. Ted Weiss's, D-N.Y., bill to end the embargo. Union representatives from the Teamsters, United Electrical Workers, Hospital and Health Care employees District 1199 and Railway Clerks plan to spread the word through their members. Their goal was expressed by Cora Weiss. "Why don't we trade with our neighbor down the block?" she asked. "Let's have a block party instead of a blockade."

More information about the anti-embargo campaign is available from the Center for Cuban Studies, 220 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Joanna Foley writes regularly for *In These Times*.

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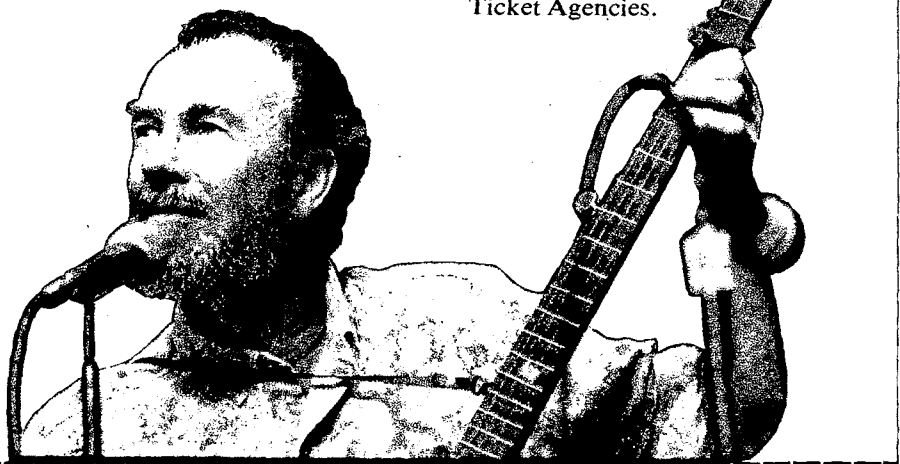
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# IN THE WORLD

## SPAIN

# Statute of Guernica wins a big majority from Basque voters

**The Referendum victory indicates strong opposition to ETA violence and a desire to give autonomy a fair trial.**

By Amy Schwartz

ON OCT. 23 THE BASQUES voted in the long-awaited Statute of Autonomy, or self-government. Named the Statute of Guernica, as it was written in that historic town, it is the legal culmination of lengthy negotiations between Basques and the Madrid government. The Statute is designed to transfer government services to Euskadi, establish a Basque Parliament and create a separate police force. It is also supposed to promulgate the Basque language (Euskera) and culture in public institutions.

On Oct. 23, only three days after the Referendum, German Gonzalez, an active member of the Basque Socialist Party and the UCD (Union General de Trabajadores, the Socialist trade union), was assassinated. The group which claimed the "attribution" calls itself "Autonomous Commando of ETA." (ETA is an armed radical separatist organization). "The people have been tricked by the parties that called for a 'yes' vote to this Statute," they declared in their comunicado.

But Gonzalez's actual relationship to ETA is not clear. ETA had made it known recently that they would continue armed struggle even after the approval of the Statute, and only against all "that is not Basque" as before. Their most urgent demand right now is amnesty for political prisoners (many of whom are present or former members of the armed organization)—it doesn't seem the most propitious time for them to carry out unpopular standstill.

The violence that battered Euskadi during the weeks of the campaign has continued past the day that was to mark the return of peace to the Basque Country.

### Mobilization against terrorism.

Madrid has directed all police effort in the Basque country this past year on "knocking down the ETA infrastructure." Several commandos have been rooted out, according to officials. ETA has been forced to retreat by French collaboration with the UCD—say, it has been denied to Basque political exiles. The major preliminary parties (Socialist and Communist parties as well as the government party) also attempted a "campaign against terrorism" last year. Now leaders are looking for a new offensive.

Calling the assassination of Gonzalez as the "first attack against the Statute," Communist and Socialist trade unions called a general strike in the Basque

country on Oct. 29. Participation was massive in two Basque provinces.

Ten thousand people participated in the funeral and silent march in Zumaya—Gonzalez' birthplace. They marched behind one banner signed by the two trade unions Comisiones Obreras and Union General de Trabajadores) reading "Mobilization against Terrorism." Txiki Benegas, head of the Basque Socialist Party, had these hard words to say at a demonstration called by his party the day before: "He was killed by ETA, he was killed by terrorists, he was killed by the new fascists of Euskadi, those who don't know anything else but the dialectic of guns have killed a worker! Democratic forces must say 'no more blood.' We want to build Euskadi with the living, not the dead."

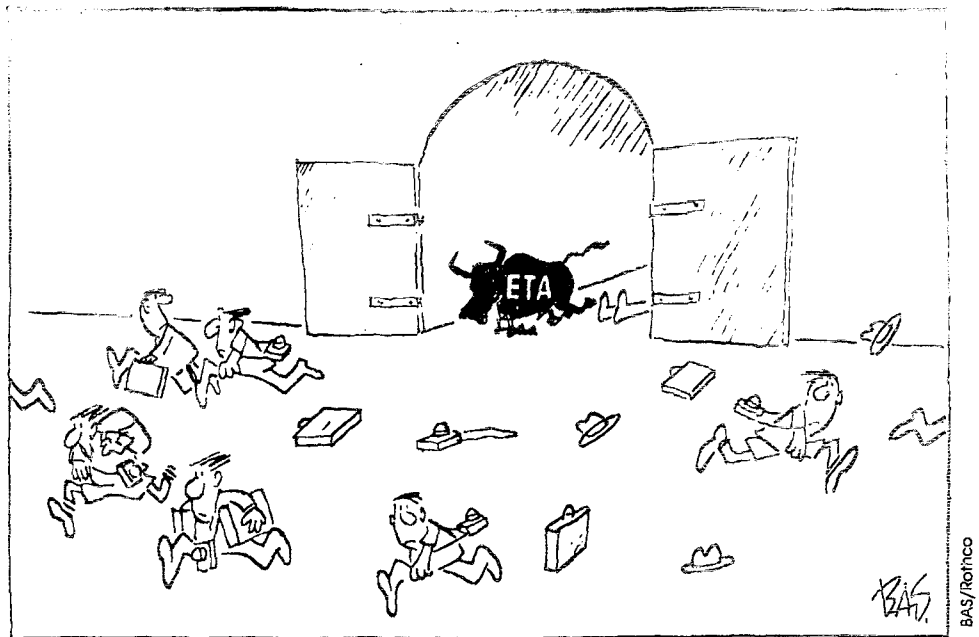
Chants by demonstrators were also harsh, and even threatening. "ETA, traitors, you have killed a worker!" "Up against the wall ETA; no amnesty and no pardons!" some began to shout. They were hushed by others: the slogan was uncomfortably similar to a well-known right-wing cry.

The ETA argument that the state is the chief terrorist—that the traitors are those who sold out the Basque people by accepting the watered-down version of self-government afforded in the Statute—is losing credence. Many Basques are tired of violence and tension as part of their daily lives, and want to believe that the Statute is viable. This was reflected in the direct accusatory nature of comments against ETA.

### Campaign for the Statute of Guernica.

Leading the Campaign in favor of the Statute was the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV-Partido Nacionalista Vasco), a nationalist party and major political force in Euskadi. The Socialist and Communist parties also argued for a "yes" vote. Joining them were some far left groups, including ETA (political-military), a group that split from ETA (military) on the issue of armed struggle. They saw no other alternative to the Statute and decided to cast their lot with the PNV. Now they'll press for amnesty for political prisoners and other more radical reforms. No one, in fact, doubts but that the real work is still ahead—if the Statute is to become anything more than a document.

Radical "abertzale" (socialist separatist) forces channeled their disagreement with the terms of the Statute into a campaign for abstention. Abstaining was said to mean that you didn't participate in a game with rules established by Suarez and the UCD (Union of the Democratic Center) in Madrid. Herri Batasuna—a left coalition that is the legal mouthpiece of ETA, and that received a significant amount of support in last April's municipal elections—ETA, the Trotskyist party, and other left groups referred to the Statute as the "Statute of the Moncloa" (Suarez's palace). The original Basque proposal was made in Euskadi, the final product was from Madrid. It failed to guarantee full self-determination and excluded Navarra from the terms of the Statute (it will be a long complicated process to include that Basque province under the legal jurisdiction of the Basque Parliament.) It ignored the rights of women and young people, did not stipulate amnesty for political



prisoners, and left control of nuclear power decisions in the hands of the UCD. (There is a nuclear reactor close to the heavily populated industrial city of Bilbao which has been the object of several atentados. Abertzale forces have declared themselves against nuclear power.) Although creation of a separate police force was included in the Statute, the point was weakened by the UCD's insistence that national police be allowed to enter Euskadi if the situation was deemed a "threat to the Spanish state."

A great deal of bitterness was generated

during this emotional campaign. No longer were the Basque nationalist forces working together for the consolidation of their country. Even within the most radical abertzale camp there was division: ETA (political-military) against ETA on the issue of abstention or support of the Statute, for instance. Herri Batasuna, in its turn, claimed that its people were being hounded and threatened by PNV members. Especially after a Herri Batasuna deputy was killed Oct. 29. The next day another deputy was assassinated. Continued on page 18.

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## NORTHERN IRELAND



Sean McKenna from the town of Newry, a Provisional prisoner. The picture was taken with a camera smuggled into the H Blocks, piece by piece. It had to be disassembled and reassembled for every picture. Drawing of the search procedure (right) shows the use of metal detectors.



# IRA prisoners in H Blocks of Long Kesh tell of ordeal

By Dennis O'Hearn

AT THIS MOMENT OVER 400 Irish prisoners lie naked save for a blanket in the H Blocks of Long Kesh prison in Belfast. They exist in eight foot square cells, two to a cell, without clothing, exercises, packages or reading or writing material. In each cell are sponge rubber "mattresses," probably soaking wet. The walls are covered with excrement. The prisoners remain in these conditions because since 1976 the British government refuses to give them political status.

IN THESE TIMES' Belfast correspondent has obtained several letters smuggled out of Long Kesh on ragged pieces of prison toilet paper. These letters speak for themselves:

## The day begins.

"The hammering on the door is driving me insane, so early in the morning. The whole cell rings like a giant concrete bell with the sound of the baton on the steel door. The screw beats the last door in the wing with a little extra vigor and is gone.

"My eyes are stabbed with the harsh fluorescent lights and as every morning I curse the screw who beats the doors. To sleep in here is not to feel, to know. Someone coughs on the far side of the wing and I remember that there are some worse off than myself. A lot of the block are down with the flu.

"I lie contemplating whether to get up off the mattress in the cold to go to the toilet. It always happens this way. I don't want to get out of the bed into the cold and put it off as long as I can. Quickly I jump to the end of the mattress to the stinking pot.

"I hear the trolley further up the wing. It's my turn to get the breakfast this morning but I am hoping Frankie, my cell mate, will get up for it. No one likes getting out of bed in the cold. As the screws are unlocking my door I jump up quickly, wrap a small towel round my waist, and am at the door in three steps. I am shaking as I take the two bowls of cornflakes and watered down milk from the screw. As usual he is ready with a sarcastic remark."

## The food.

"Frankie is sitting up in bed now, grumbling about the water in the cornflakes. I can see his breath plainly in the cell. I have to laugh as he tries to spread a small piece of margarine on the four rounds of bread with a spoon and one hand under the blankets.

The water in the cornflakes makes

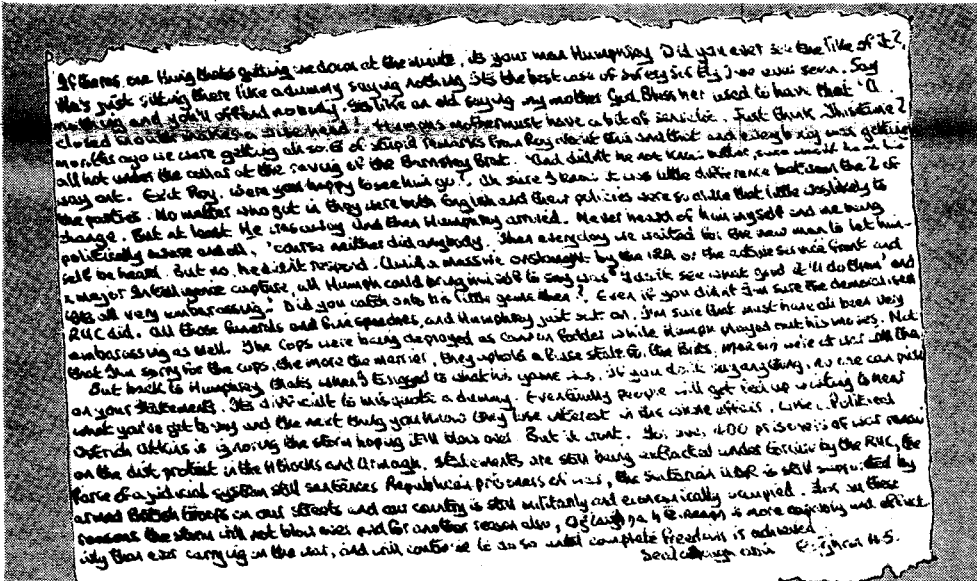
them almost tasteless but I eat them anyway. Frankie's catching the flu and can't eat too well. He mutters about 'sunshine' breakfasts and throws the last of the cornflakes into the corner.

"We are totally at the mercy of the screws as to what we eat and drink. For the second time in a fortnight food being served to the blanketmen has been interfered with. On March 6, while Sean Tra-

you Provie bastard? I pissed in it.' Unfortunately, some of this is true, although even if nothing had been done, the thought that it might have would be enough."

## Wearing the garb.

"During the morning the bowls are taken out of the cell and the water gallon refilled and left back in the cell. A screw comes in, throws six squares of toilet



A letter written on toilet paper and smuggled out of the H Blocks, reproduced full size. All of the letters quoted here were similarly written and smuggled out.

cey was eating his breakfast he noticed that he had swallowed something, as a foul, ill feeling spread from his stomach to his throat and mouth. This sickly feeling continued throughout the rest of the day. When he reported his illness he was told that it was 'nothing to worry about'.

"So the rationing has started again. In H Block 5 the screws are once more cutting the food allocation. Apart from the usual 'luxuries' such as salt, jam, sauce, vinegar, etc. the screws are now once again withholding bread and other food from us. Our bread ration has been reduced by three slices in the past few days, the amount of potatoes is well down, and meat and vegetables are also being withheld. All the food will as usual be thrown into the bin."

"Constant tampering with prisoners' food, short measures. Food left sitting until cold, urinating in tea and potatoes, disinfectant in tea, excessive salt in soup, soap powder in rice and other puddings, food deliberately thrown on floor, scraped up and served. On one occasion an orderly put maggots in the pasties. Eating utensils that had got covered with excrement and urine had often gone unwashed and the next meal served up on them.

"Consistent mental torture. For example, 'Did you enjoy your food, you bastard? Do you know what we put in it?' or 'Did you enjoy your dinner today,

paper on the bed, and quickly says 'shit, shave, wash or exercise in the prison clothes.'"

"The filth and dirt, the increased use of punishment, the general feeling of 'when will this all end?'—all this has made life that much harder. But then we never expected it to get any easier until we get a victory. Those who say it is only self-inflicted are promoting British propaganda. Certainly we could take the easy way out and allow ourselves to be criminalized. If we do that then future generations of Irish people will be trampled underfoot because of what could only be described as treason. That's how I look upon wearing the gear. As long as the Blanket continues, I'll be on it. I'll never wear the gear, or allow myself to be treated as a criminal."

"The beginnings of the criminalization policy can be traced back to 1974. Every Brit-inspired solution in the 6 county area had failed. So the Brits decided to shelve all attempts to impose a political 'settlement' and threw their resources into a sustained military campaign to smash Republican resistance. The first stage was a propaganda campaign to portray the liberation struggle as merely a criminal enterprise being waged by evil men for their own ends.

"Political status had been won during

the truce of 1972 by means of a hunger strike. Internment was at its height in 1974. The existence of imprisonment without trial and of political prisoners was inconsistent with the myth that the Republican prisoners were criminals so the British government decided to end both.

"Internment ended in December 1975 and special category status on March 1, 1976. Anyone convicted of offenses after that date was classed as a criminal and was thrown in the H Blocks. It was expected that criminal status could be imposed with the minimum of protest. How badly the Brits miscalculated can be seen today."

## The dirt protest.

"Usually about now I go to the toilet. I take my share of the toilet paper, three squares, put one on the ground and use two to clean myself. When I've finished I rub my excrement into the wall. It's revolting but there's not many types of protest I can do in here that will make people take an interest. Frankie says I'm stinking even under the blanket and we both laugh. What else can you do? Laugh or go insane."

"Refusing to wash or keep one's surroundings clean may sound very disgusting, and believe me it is. But it must be taken in scale with the foul deeds we were enduring. The severity of a complete lockup, the total lack of exercise, the absence of any form of reading material, the stringent control of one letter and visit per month, and then of course the 'fringe benefits' of the H Blocks—the searches, wing shifts, the threat of punishment block, the many and regular attacks on the Blanket Men, the bad food, the harsh lights..."

## Visits, wing shifts, searches.

"Shortly after we stepped up our protest here the screws were in the process of removing furniture from the cells when I heard a scream and many confusing noises. On looking out a gap in my door I saw a naked man being used like a football. No less than seven screws crowded around this body and each seemed to be trying to outdo the others by kicking and swinging at the body with batons. It was on seeing the second body appear that I realized it was my two comrades from the next cell, one from Derry the other from Strabane, who had become like brothers. For countless nights we lay with our ears tight to our walls, telling each other of hopes and dreams, of the things we would do when status was won, of our fears and joys and of loved ones. Now they both lay wriggling in the corridor as the screws laughed and joked about their moans.

Fear mounted in me as it had never done before and looking on my comrades I seemed to die a hundred times inside. But though my fear was great—and what I say next may sound strange—I died a hundred more times in those same insides because I was not out there with my comrades, because I couldn't help or even share their burden. It happens regular that a man will be beaten or crushed by screws because he will refuse to humiliate himself by standing naked over a mirror while one's legs are bent and a torch is shown up one's rear end. It is not without much embarrassment that I can say this but these are the facts."

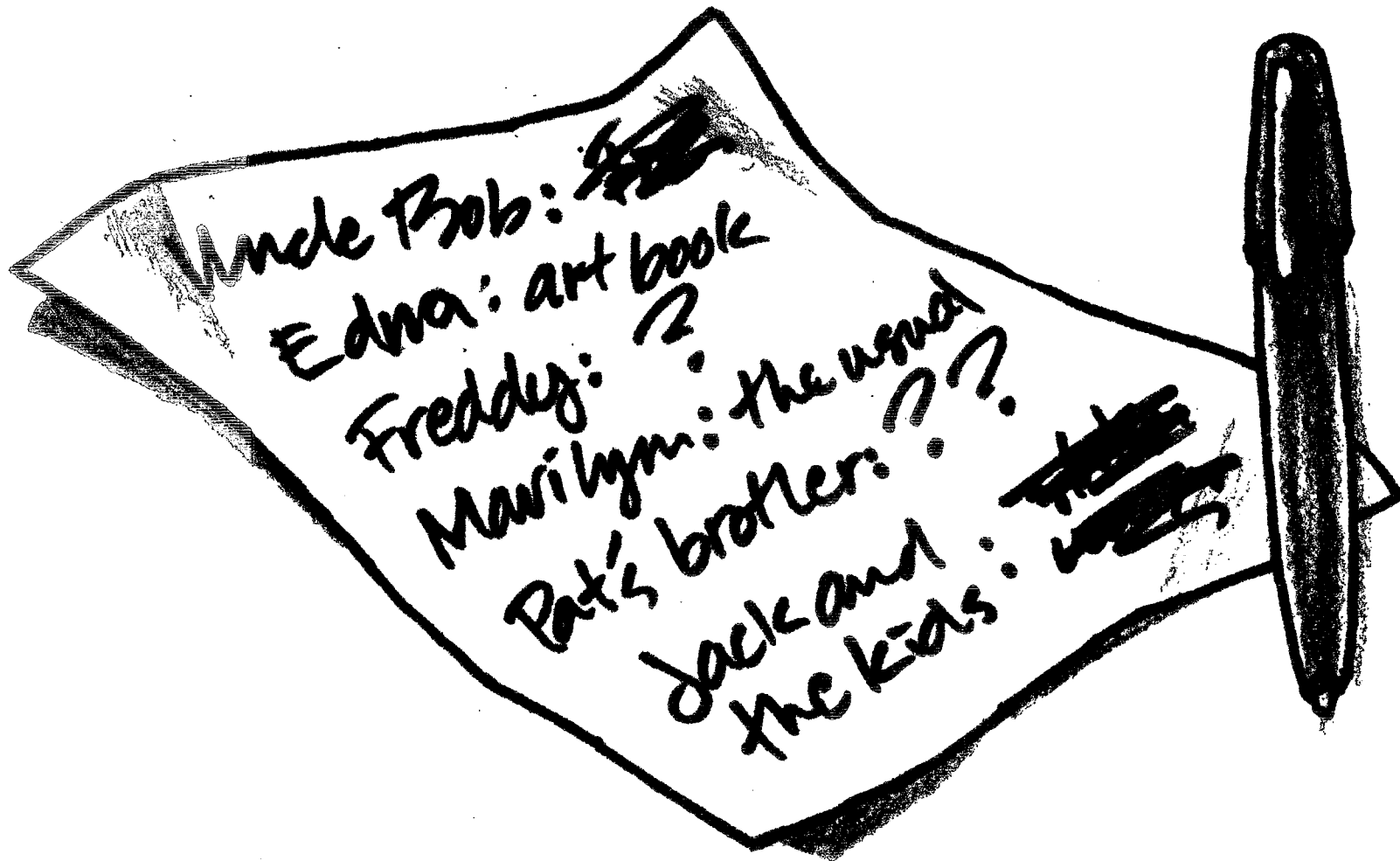
## Staying sane.

"Most of the lads in here are real football fans and as you can imagine they were all right and anxious to hear how the final went on Saturday. The screws and orderlies all gathered up in the canteen and from our cells we could hear the prematch singing on the TV. Then the TV was heard very clearly as the screws adjusted the volume for God Save You Know Who. After this the volume was turned down again leaving us with only the mumble of the voices from the audience in the canteen. After a short while a cheer erupted and we took it for granted that someone had scored. Later another cheer and yet another. Connelly, an avid fan, decided that there might be hope so he gave a quiet 'come on you wee reds' just to show he was still there. And so the match ended, but for the

Continued on page 18.



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STH2



*The liquified natural  
terminal at Pt. Concep  
might not destroy Santa C*

**A**

BY DAVID E. KAPLAN WITH TIM BRICK

\$10 BILLION, 20-YEAR-long energy rip-off has received the final okay from Washington D.C.

The rip-off is called LNG—liquefied natural gas. Two of the largest gas utilities in the country, Pacific Gas & Electric and Southern California Gas, have pooled their forces to bring LNG for the first time to the west coast.

The deal will bolster the military regime in Indonesia, considered one of the most oppressive governments in the world. Consumers will be forced to buy gas so expensive that it won't even be competitive on the market, and then to stand by as their money flows to Indonesian military regime with the blessings of the federal Departments of State and of Energy.

The utilities aim to bring in 900 million cubic feet of LNG each day for the next 20 years. At special liquification plants in Indonesia and Alaska, natural gas—like the stuff used in your oven or heater—will be super-cooled to 259 degrees below 0, F, until it condenses into a dangerous, volatile liquid. It will then be piped onto tankers the size of three football fields, to be shipped across the ocean to California.

The frozen gas is as lethal as a giant incendiary bomb. Tucked away in these refrigerated ships, or in storage tanks onshore, the LNG has the burning power to incinerate a city of 100,000. Already a handful of major accidents have occurred. A LNG explosion in Cleveland in 1944 killed 128 persons and gutted 10 industrial plants, all caused by a tank less than one-thirtieth the size of the largest being built today. A 1973 blast on Staten Island killed 40 workmen repairing a LNG tank. Disaster was averted in La Spezia, Italy in 1971, when a sun-warmed layer of LNG didn't mix properly with the cooler gas inside of a tanker. Suddenly, geysers of liquified gas—440,000 pounds of it—gushed into the sky like an exploding pressure cooker. Only a breeze saved the port city.

Current domestic natural gas prices are

beginning to reach upwards of \$2.70 per thousand cubic feet. After two years of bargaining, the U.S. has finally agreed to buy natural gas from Mexico for about \$3.60 per thousand cubic feet. But by the time LNG reaches California it will likely be well over \$5.00 per thousand cubic feet.

An LNG terminal is the kind of project utilities love. As regulated monopolies, the utilities' prices and profits are based upon the size of their invested capital. And the LNG deal, in one fell swoop, will double the size of Pacific Lighting Corporation—parent company of Southern California Gas—within five years. More capital, more profits.

State power brokers are also counting on the LNG to use as political fuel. For six years executives of the two utilities have travelled the state, warning of chronic shortages and economic disaster in California within five years unless the terminal is speedily approved.

Governor Brown, anxious to deliver on a large corporate project after losing proposals by Dow Chemical and Sohio has made a LNG terminal for California an unpublicized priority of his energy program. As a result, in 1977, amid intense lobbying from the governor, large energy corporations and organized labor, the California legislature passed the LNG Terminal Siting Act.

For two years LNG opponents have protested in vain as state officials made the potentially deadly decision to put the terminal at Point Concepcion, a remote area about 40 miles up the coast from Santa Barbara.

Point Concepcion's main visitors are Indian people, who have considered the place sacred for millenia. The local Chumash tribe calls it the legendary Western Gate, through which all unborn and ancestral spirits must pass.

#### Bad weather.

The Indians are only one of the utilities' problems for this LNG site. Supertankers filled with the frozen gas will dock at a 4600 foot long pier subject to some of

# Wheeling and Dealing on the PACIFIC

## The LNG Con Indonesia a.

the worst weather on the west coast. Turbulent winds pound the area around the point, earning it the reputation among mariners as the "Cape Horn of the Pacific." Three day gales of 70 knots with 40 foot waves have frequently been described over the years.

But the biggest safety hazard for the LNG terminal—as with nuclear power plants in California—is from earthquakes. At the proposed site, each of the four 13-story high LNG towers will sit atop a web of five active earthquake faults. An accident at Point Concepcion could quickly wipe out a large section of Santa Barbara County, and with it 20 percent of California's natural gas supply.

All this doesn't seem to bother the two

utilities involved. They're betting hard on a LNG future. "California runs on natural gas," says John Torrens, the slick chief PR man for the project. "One half of the non-transportation energy used in California is from natural gas. We need large new supplies by '82 or '85 and that means gas from Canada, Mexico and LNG."

"Our problem is that when Joe Jones out in West L.A. flips on his water heater, he wants it to go on. He just isn't going to accept the fact that there isn't any gas for him until Thursday. If Californians are ready right now to switch over to alternative energy forms or to do without, that's fine, but they aren't ready to make that change."

*The same scheme that would charge U.S. consumers sky-high prices to feed their fuel habit...*



**D**

DOES CALIFORNIA NEED the gas? That depends on who one asks. The unusual legislation passed in Sacramento gave the state Public Utilities Commission (PUC)—instead of the Energy Commission—complete responsibility to determine whether there is need for the LNG. PUC commissioners, appointed by the Governor, make decisions that are virtually unappealable. The state Energy Commission, under attack by the energy industry for its strong anti-nuclear stance, was given only an advisory role, despite its national reputation for the accuracy of its forecasts.

The Energy Commission found no need for the LNG. In fact Bob Weatherwax, chief energy forecaster for the Energy Commission is bewildered by the whole LNG project. "There is now a gas glut on the market for the next three to five years. Astronomical reserves of gas and oil have been discovered in Mexico."

The Energy Commission concluded that the terminal would not be needed





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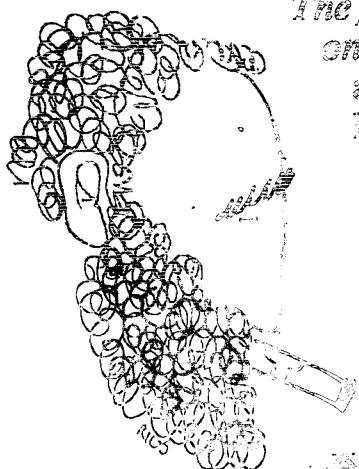
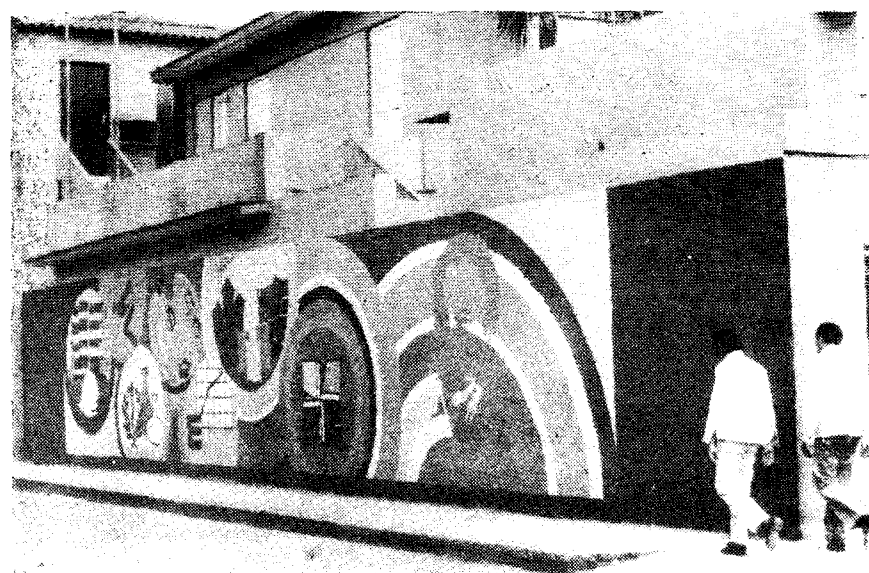
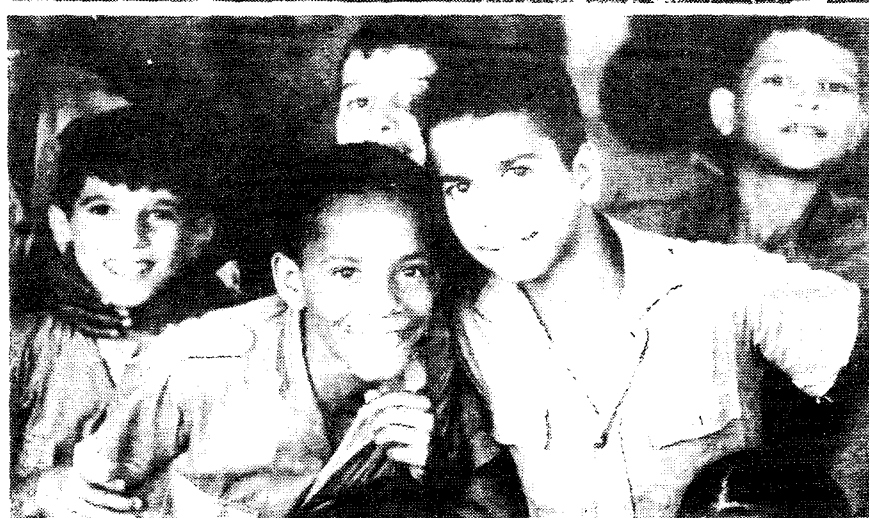
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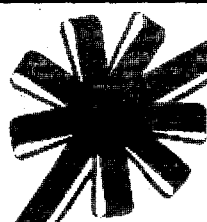
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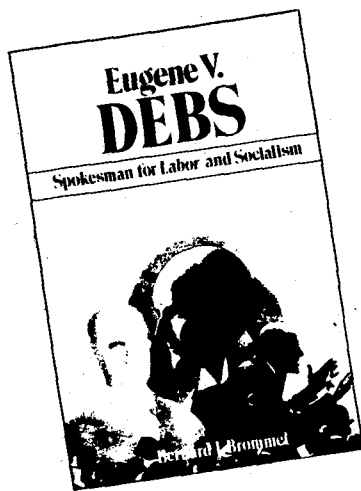
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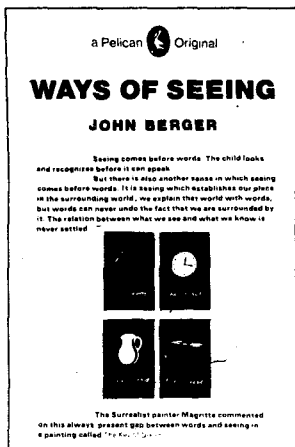
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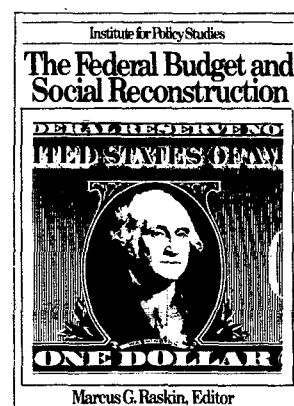
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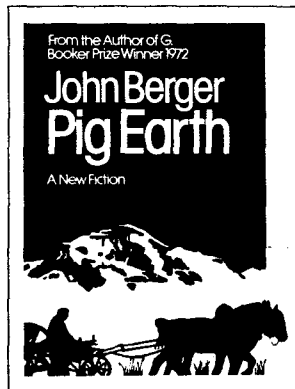
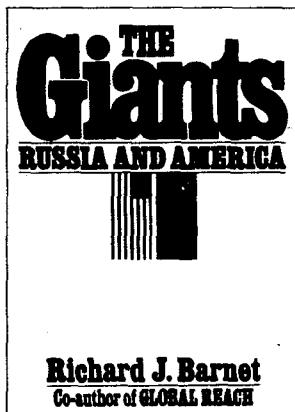
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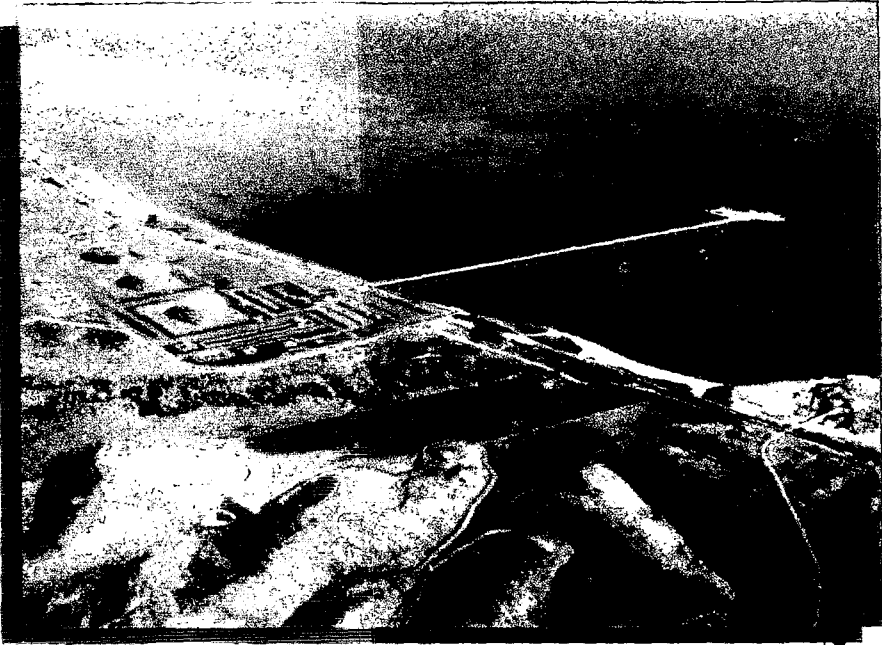
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BY DAVID E. KAPLAN

INDONESIA IS A LUSH, tropical archipelago along the equator in Southeast Asia. The

Republic comprises some 3000 islands sprawled between the Philippines and Australia.

Indonesia's population of 135 million is the fifth largest in the world. Over half of all Indonesians live under poverty levels set by the World Bank and two-thirds do not have a basic minimum diet. Disease is rampant, infant mortality high and life expectancy short.

But business is good. Multinational corporations from Japan and the United States have flocked to Indonesia to grab a share of the islands' immense natural wealth. Richard Nixon described Indonesia in 1967 as "the greatest prize in the Southeast Asia area." The archipelago is the world's largest oil producer east of the Persian Gulf. It has the richest forest resources of any country in East Asia. It is the world's third largest producer of tin, and has a host of other minerals, including gold, copper and nickel.

Economic "development" for Indonesia, however, has proved disastrous. Foreign capital pours into centralized projects that create relatively little employment and training. The \$2 billion natural gas liquefaction facilities, for example, were built by the Bechtel Corporation. Mobil Oil is co-owner and operator of the gas fields. The entire project will yield less than a thousand jobs.

The effects of multinational corporations on Indonesia's natural environment are also proving disastrous. The land is being rapidly deforested, leading to increased erosion and flooding. Fisheries are being depleted, and pollution, especially from offshore oil production, is reaching critical proportions.

Indonesia was led to independence from the Dutch in 1950 by the fiercely

nationalistic and left-leaning Sukarno. By the late '50s, the army, with steady encouragement from the CIA, began to play an increasing role in national politics. They disagreed sharply with some of Sukarno's views, particularly his willingness to allow Communists a large role in Indonesia's political life. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), with its affiliated organizations, were at 17 million members the largest communist party in the world after the Soviet Union and China.

In September, 1965, pro-Sukarno Army and Air Force officers assassinated six Indonesian generals. The army, led by General Suharto, retaliated by killing and arresting the PKI leadership and by incensing Indonesian youth to wage a holy war against PKI members. What followed were six months of the bloodiest carnage since World War II. Sukarno was deposed as the army and General Suharto, now president, took command of the nation.

Several months later, the new government opened up the islands to large-scale investment from Western and Japanese multi-national corporations. The economy came under control of a group of young Indonesian technocrats nicknamed the Berkeley Mafia, so called because of the large number of PhDs in economics that they received from the University of California. The Ford Foundation sponsored the Berkeley program. That Mafia is still alive and well in Djakarta. It is their strategy to bail out Indonesia's massive debt to the developed world by sales of the country's precious, low-polluting oil and liquefied natural gas.

Dissent is rare in Indonesia these days and punishment is swift and brutal. The generals and technocrats apparently have a firm grip on the country. But privately, according to sources close to the government, they admit they're worried. Perhaps they remember an old Javanese saying: "When the people are silent, you're in trouble."

## Reaction between California

until at least 1990, if ever. This enraged the staff of the PUC, who launched a roadside attack on the Commission, and their forecasts inaccurate and unrealistic.

"They tried to malign the forecasts technically," recalls Weatherwax, "and when that didn't work they tried to discredit our professionalism. Somebody wanted awfully bad not to believe the forecasts we did."

### Special interests.

Pat Brown has been accused by consumer groups of being influenced on the LNG deal by his family's oil business.

The Governor's immediate family has a large financial interest in the project. The lucrative financial ties to Pertamina, Indonesia's state oil and gas company, will provide much of the volatile gas California.

Except for the governor, the entire family, including Brown's father—former California Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, his wife, three daughters and seven grandchildren, owns the controlling amount of stock in a holding corporation, United States International Investment Corporation. Through a subsidiary, Porta Oil Marketing Corporation, USIIC markets Indonesian oil in the U.S. USIIC also owns 50 percent of Porta Oil, Hong Kong. The other half is owned by Indonesia's Pertamina.

The Indonesian Connection became an issue briefly during the 1974 gubernatorial election, when it was revealed that an industry critic Jerry Brown received 70,000 in contributions and loan guarantees from Porta Oil and its executives. By 1978, as the Governor geared up for his re-election campaign, he decided that any further contributions were unacceptable.

Pat Brown is central to a variety of business and political forces pushing for LNG. His prestigious Beverly Hills law firm of Ball, Hunt, Hart, Brown and

Baerwitz represents Southern California Gas Company, one of the two LNG sponsors, in work relating to the LNG project. The law firm has received over \$42,000 from the two utilities for advice on LNG legislation. Pat Brown's firm has also served as legal counsel to Indonesia's Pertamina for three years and was registered as their foreign agent.

"I have no more to do with LNG than you do," the former governor said to IN THESE TIMES. He admits, however, that energy officials from Pertamina and California Gas did "use space on the 10th floor"—the USIIC/Porta suite above his private office—for LNG contract negotiations.

Continued on page 14.

...would support a military elite and foster poverty in Indonesia.

Randy West





*Point Concepcion could become the next Wounded Knee. "If it comes to a fight," says the war chief of the Chumash, "I know a lot of men who aren't afraid to die."*

*Continued from page 13.*

The elder Brown is also a founder and the recent chairman of California Council for Environmental and Economic Balance (CEEBA), a powerful lobby of business and labor that has led the push for LNG. Southern California Gas and Pacific Gas and Electric, the two LNG sponsors, each give CEEBA tens of thousands of dollars each year to lobby not only for LNG, but also nuclear energy, weaker pollution standards and other "environmental and economic" balances.

Pat Brown's involvement with Pertamina and Indonesia dates back to 1967, when, shortly after losing his bid for reelection to Ronald Reagan, President Suharto invited him to tour the country to train new government officials. The following year, he was retained by Pertamina to boost the growing U.S. sales of Indonesian oil.

The elder Brown became a financial ambassador to Indonesia, introducing Pertamina officials to American investment circles over games of golf. The former governor claims that he was also instrumental in persuading the Indonesians to continue exporting oil to America during the Arab oil embargo.

With such a close relationship to Indonesia's rulers, it's understandable why Pat Brown has put his clout behind getting the California LNG terminal approved. The enormous profits from the sale of LNG are the key to maintaining Indonesia's military government, and the whole economic package that goes with it, including Brown's Perta Oil firm.

#### Big debts.

The Indonesian economy is in deep trouble, still suffering from the near-collapse of Pertamina in 1975. In one of the more under-reported financial disasters of the decade, General Sutowo amassed over \$10.5 billion in debts by overextending the state oil company into hundreds of "development" projects, ranging from fertilizer and steel plants to island resorts. The bankruptcy nearly destroyed the country's economy. Oil revenues, coming entirely from Pertamina, account for almost two-thirds of the country's foreign earnings. The state was forced to absorb the huge debt, driving Indonesia's total foreign debt to over \$15 billion.

Although large Western and Japanese banks thrive on the debt structure they have imposed on developing countries, an overly large debt like Indonesia's threatens the entire economic relationship. Had any one bank called for its money, it would have started a chain reaction bankrupting the whole Indonesian economy, and along with it, the billions of dollars of investments by multinational corporations like Bechtel, Mobil, and Standard Oil.

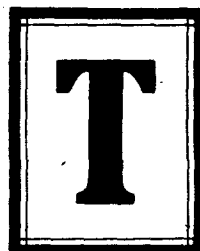
Indonesia is too important—economically and strategically—for that to happen. The country is now the largest supplier of foreign oil to the West Coast. The archipelago's rich stores of petroleum, tin, rubber and its vast tropical forests make it an economic gold mine for the U.S. and Japan. Strategically, the location of the islands is critical: through their narrow straits pass the Middle Eastern oil supplies on which Japan depends for its industrial life.

To bail out Pertamina, three syndicated loans totalling over a billion dollars were quickly put together, two by Morgan Guarantee Trust for \$850 million and another by the Bank of Tokyo for \$200 million. The list of banks behind the Morgan loans reads like a Who's Who of the American financial community, including Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, and Citicorp.

The loans were refinanced in 1978, but Indonesia will still face huge payments through the '80s. And LNG revenue, from California and Japan, is needed to help meet those payments.

Indonesia's foreign debt has until now been financed with profits from its oil

sales. Indonesia's oil reserves are relatively small. Production in their major fields has peaked and within a half-dozen years there won't be enough oil left for export to cover their loan payments.



THE CALIFORNIA LNG deal represents nearly \$20 billion in gross sales revenue to the military government that runs Indonesia. That money will go to support one of the most corrupt, repressive regimes in the world. Observers estimate that some 30 percent of the nation's earnings is siphoned off, most of it pocketed by the group of generals kept in power by U.S. military and financial aid. According to Amnesty International, Indonesia holds 30,000 political prisoners, more than any other developing country aligned with the United States.

The Indonesian regime and the big foreign banks are counting on LNG profits to be the country's major new source of foreign exchange earnings for the next 20 years. But there are only two markets to which Indonesia can sell the gas: Japan and the U.S. California utilities have repeatedly warned that the LNG will go to Japan if the Point Concepcion terminal isn't approved soon. Japan, however, has shown only wavering interest in contracting for more of the expensive gas.

The U.S. government is taking careful note of Indonesia's problems. Reliable sources in the federal Department of Energy report that regulatory officials were reluctant to reject the LNG project after having strung the Indonesians along for six years. Officials were concerned that a negative decision could have "a harmful effect on the Indonesian economy."

The same federal officials who approved the terminal were also aware of the abundance of natural gas from Mexico to Alaska, and that clearly California

will be a major beneficiary of that gas. Yet in December 1977, in two decisions that federal officials are extremely reluctant to discuss, the DOE conditionally approved the purchase of costly Indonesian LNG, but turned down much larger supplies of comparatively cheap Mexican gas.

The federal government gave Point Concepcion the final go-ahead on Sept. 26. The California Public Utilities Commission (PUC) granted conditional approval this July, pending studies of wind, wave and earthquake danger. There are perhaps two more months of the PUC studies left. These will quickly be followed by state hearings and a final decision by the Brown-appointed commissioners—a decision that PUC insiders expect, after seven years and millions of dollars, to be pro-LNG.

#### Resistance.

All that stands in the way of final approval is a small, determined alliance of Indians, local landowners and environmentalists. The group has filed repeated suits against the project, and plans to fight it to the end, a fight that could last through 1980 and end up in the Supreme Court.

The outcome may well depend on the Chumash Indian tribe, who have repeatedly occupied the site. They claim a Wounded Knee situation could develop if gas companies proceed with their plan. Indian groups from across the country are joining the Chumash, including representatives from the American Indian Movement and The Longest Walk.

The war chief of the Chumash, Wansauc, a stark-faced man who has repeatedly occupied the site, claims that the tribe is ready for a showdown. "This land is our church," he says drily. "If it comes down to a fight, I know there are a lot of men who aren't afraid to die to preserve it."

The Indians have repeatedly occupied the LNG site. On Oct. 31, 50 members of

the Coalition to Preserve Point Concepcion peacefully occupied the proposed LNG site for the day. As well, one group within the coalition is reportedly hiring a former presidential advisor on environmental affairs to lobby against the project in Washington. Ammunition may be the release two weeks ago of the U.S. Geological Survey's seismic evaluation of Point Concepcion, calling it among the most seismically active spots on the west coast.

The gas companies, however, can already smell victory in the air around Point Concepcion. They are anxiously awaiting that final PUC decision. Should approval come, certain California utility executives will breathe a deep sigh of relief.

Jerry Brown will also breathe easier. The Governor has at stake his reputation among the business community that will help finance his campaign for the presidency. After losing two major industrial projects in California to alleged "environmental red-tape," Brown is determined to bring in the LNG.

For his father's oil company, from which the Governor has received tens of thousands of dollars, and for policymakers with an eye toward the East, it's a slightly different story. LNG is Euro-dollar welfare. Locked into a continuing debt that it cannot repay, Indonesia may teeter toward disaster without profits from the LNG. Should that happen, the country's 135 million people may no longer stand for the continued barbarism of the military government.

If the LNG terminal is approved, look forward to a multi-billion dollar rip-off. Look forward to another centralized, technological fix. And be comforted that your government has again acted in your best interest, with an energy policy that imports unneeded natural gas, while propping up a repressive regime in Southeast Asia.

David E. Kaplan is a San Francisco-based free-lance journalist writing on energy and environmental affairs. Tim Brick is coordinator of CAUSE (Campaign Against Utility Service Exploitation), a Los Angeles-based consumer group. A broad coalition of 15 community groups and Indians plans to occupy the LNG terminal site again. Their address is The Coalition to Protect Point Concepcion, c/o Santa Barbara Indian Center, 808 East Cota, Santa Barbara CA 93103.

Wansauc, the Chumash war chief, holds his daughter at the occupied LNG site at Point Concepcion.

Ingrid Thoben





# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## CARTER STYLE DISARMING

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS announced that it will ask the Congress for new arms aid (anti-guerrilla helicopters, etc.) for Morocco for use inside the Western Sahara. (Until now the U.S. has at least paid lip service to the 1960 arms agreement with Morocco that provides that U.S. arms must be used in Morocco proper.)

Despite the fact that both Pentagon and CIA reports state that Morocco cannot win this war, despite the fact that the UN, the OAU, and the Non-Aligned nations refuse to accept Morocco's claim to the Western Sahara and continue to call for self-determination for the Saharawi people, despite the fact that Morocco is unsuccessfully deploying one-half of its armed forces and one-fourth of its budget in the war (and, according to the reports of a defunct Saharawi parliamentary representative from Smara, U.S. and Egyptian advisers in the Western Sahara), the U.S. is contemplating greater involvement in this conflict.

To date 32 nations (one-fifth of the world) recognize the SADR, the Saharawi state of the Western Sahara. Polisario forces continue successfully to wage a war (dating from 1975) against their invaders. Recently they seized Mahbes, a city in the Western Sahara. Earlier this month they took Smara, the famed fortified city of the Western Sahara, which they held for two days.

It is peculiar that a President who has repeatedly reiterated his allegiance to the concept of human rights in U.S. foreign affairs, has decided to ignore the universally recognized rights to self-determination of the Saharawi people.

We urge you to call, send a public opinion telegram (\$2.00 for 15 words), or write President Carter protesting this proposed change in U.S. policy. We also urge you to write Sen. George McGovern, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa, Washington, D.C. 20510, and Representative Stephen Solarz, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, Washington, D.C. 20543, applauding their efforts to stop this action by the administration.

—Anne Upport  
Act, Ohio

## CHOCK FULL OF INSULT

THE LEFT OFTEN TAKES WHAT ONE feminist called "the fringe approach to oppression" and decides lesbians and gays rank last. When we criticize what Christopher Isherwood called "the heterosexual dictatorship" a lot of lefties go into running and barking fits. While many leftists are vying with the Pope to sanctify the family and thus grab the masses, many gays and lesbians remain more unadjusted and critical. After the recent National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, a group of lesbian and gay socialists met to discuss many things—including the economic and social function of the nuclear family.

Ronni Scheier, of Chicago Lesbian and Gay Socialists, reported on that meeting (*ITT*, Sept. 13). Lee Preston responded with a letter headed "Off Base Gay Socialists." That letter is chock full of insult and myth. Once again we get the "leftist" analysis that the lesbian and gay movement is epiphenomenal at best

—a product of capitalist decay, a parasitic appendage of the "real" left. With the breakdown of the extended family the powers that be can shrug off gays. "Choice," writes Preston, "is the catchword of our advanced corporate society, and that applies increasingly to sexual orientation as well as to automobiles and deodorants."

This is base. Maybe it doesn't occur to Preston that there's no penalty for choosing between spray and roll-on, but the penalties for being gay include being silenced or sensationalized, losing jobs and homes, being trashed or tokenized, being socially engineered by shrinks and sociologists, being lynched, raped, jailed, killed. Another penalty is that, just as women are devoured alive by the nuclear family, it expels gays as waste. Preston urges leftists "not to attack the family, and, by implication, the tens of millions of working people for whom the family is a source of comfort and strength."

Cut the crap, comrade: it won't work. Just as existing racism and sexism among all classes must be challenged, so must homophobia and heterosexism. Gays and lesbians play a crucial role in criticizing and humanizing the family—and in extending it to include us and our children. Yes, comrade, queers also reproduce, but are you as concerned about the destruction of *our* families when the courts kidnap our kids?

—Scott Tucker  
member of Philadelphia  
Lesbian and Gay Socialists

## SUDDEN DEATH

YOUR ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF Nicos Poulantzas (*ITT*, Oct. 24) omits the fact that he committed suicide. In the past, you have righteously and rightly condemned the rewriting of history by various communist forces. This obituary appreciation, however, commits the same sin through the method of omission. Are we in some socialist Dark Ages where suicide is something we are ashamed of or unable to cope with? We hope not. Our admiration for Poulantzas' contributions to the international socialist movement remain unaffected by the manner of his death. We are confident your readers would have a similar reaction.

—Dan Georgakas  
Peter Pappas  
New York

**Editor's Note:** Yes, we had heard that Poulantzas committed suicide, but the report we received simply said that he died suddenly. Not having confirmation of the suicide, we printed the report as it came in. But it bothered us, too.

## NO WONDER!

I KNOW YOU WON'T PUBLISH THIS; NOBODY ever publishes my stuff. I'm just a crazed individual who has a terrible, compulsive habit: I like to read.

So I was reading along through *ITT* when I stumbled on a most remarkable and most erroneous article by one Harry Brill regarding the Fed's high interest rates.

Banks are, in fact, borrowing quite heavily from the Reserve these days, for the very plain reason that they have overextended their loan capacity. While ridiculously increasing quantities of loans have steadily risen, deposit growth has slowed—and reversed. Thus, the banks, which are required by law and the Fed

to maintain a certain reserve in proportion to their loans, have been forced into borrowing from the Reserve to bring their reserves up to par.

Mr. Brill's allegations are absurd from beginning to end, and show an obvious ignorance of the nature and causes of inflation—namely himself, and every other American alive today with money to spend (the catch, of course, is having money to spend). We who are children of the '60s, and grandchildren of the '30s, have been literally bought. We sold our souls unresistingly to credit cards, checks, and easy low-money-down long term home mortgages, all to get a chunk of the "good life."

Greed is the cause of inflation, pure and simple greed. Who hasn't written that check knowing he or she didn't have enough real capital in the bank at the time to cover, yet thought innocently, "I'll cover it tomorrow?"

An even greater danger comes from those expanding home loans, however. In these times (pun intended) banks and savings institutions have taken upon themselves extraordinary techniques for "making money." Outrageous home loans is one such technique—outrageous because of the low-money-down require-

ments, often as low as 5 percent. This means banks must "create" the other 95 percent which must be handed over to the seller. The Fed is acting directly to crush this in two ways: Raising the interest rates, and actually limiting the amount that can be borrowed from the Fed by member banks.

Brill is correct in his estimation that the construction industry will be drastically slowed, and in the Northwest it is exactly what we have been trying to control for some time. I means, quite simply, that the desecration of the land will at least have some respite. The point of the Fed's action is very simple: Stop borrowing money. There can be no better way to get back at the bankers and capitalists, short of withdrawal of all cash and stuffing it under the mattress, which is probably a very good idea.

—Gary Siebel  
Bellingham, Wash.

## CORRECTION

Because of a production error, Georgia Christgau's article, "A Rightful Life" (*ITT*, Nov. 7) was not credited as having originally been published in *The Village Voice*.

# DIALOG

## Castro follows the Arab line on Zionism

By Ronald Radosh

MARLENE NADLE'S ANALYSIS OF FIDEL CASTRO'S ROLE in the non-aligned nation's movement (*ITT*, Oct. 31) is a good example of the ideological blinders worn by so many leftists when it comes to taking a look at the Cuban Revolution. It is ironic that she interprets Castro's policy as a mechanism to use his Third World alliances to break from Moscow, when most independent observers (such as Carmelo Mesa-Lago, Jorge Domínguez, Maurice Halperin, Juan Goytisolo, among others) have concluded that while Cuba broke its chain of dependence on the U.S., it did so at the tragic cost of full dependence on the Soviet bloc nations.

It is more preposterous that Nadle cites Castro's remarks before the UN on the Palestinians and Israel as an example of an apparent "shift" meant to "reassure" Israel, and that she chastises Israeli Ambassador Blum for supposedly ignoring it—as if Castro was only echoing the legitimate desire of the Third World nations to find a homeland for the Palestinians.

Indeed, Castro's remarks indicate the very opposite. They revealed an extreme variant of the official Soviet position—redder than the rose, more Catholic than the Pope. Castro echoed the unconscionable and ludicrous claim—that Nadle somehow left out of her report on Castro's speech—that the "Zionists" are the new equivalents of the Nazis—practicing genocide in a new holocaust aimed at the Palestinians. These remarks, hardly reassuring to the Israelis, are but another example of the continuing use by Castro of the repulsive false analogy between Israeli and Nazi behavior. They offer more proof of Castro's echoing, rather than his independence of, the Moscow line.

There was a time, in the 1960s, when Castro and Cuba had an independent position towards Israel; then Castro told K.S. Karol that "true revolutionaries never threaten to exterminate a whole country;" that Arab anti-Israel propaganda "helped the Israeli leadership mobilize the patriotism of their people." Cubans, indeed, identified with Israel as a small nation under siege, and Castro maintained his independent stance as the means of proving, among other things,

that Cuba was *not* a Soviet satellite.

It was not until the 1973 summit meeting of the heads of the non-aligned nations, as Maurice Halperin shows in a forthcoming book, that Castro suddenly and abruptly changed Cuban policy. Castro had come to the session prepared to engage in total defense of Soviet foreign policy, and his speech was blasted by both Prince Sihanouk and Colonel Quadaffi of Libya, who stated: "I am non-aligned and Castro is aligned." One hour before the stormy meeting was to end, Castro announced that Cuba had broken diplomatic relations with Israel—a move that caught both Cubans and Israelis by surprise, and that won Fidel the public embrace of Quadaffi.

In exchange for the breaking of relations, Castro won Arab tolerance for Soviet policy and for his defense of it, he safeguarded his own role as the major "non-aligned" champion of Moscow, and he improved his own leadership aspirations with the Third World nations. From that time on, Castro has been a champion of the hard line Arab rejectionist states and the Soviet Union.

Historian Halperin writes: "the circumstances which led him into active hostility against Israel left no doubt that he was moved by pure opportunism, and once having changed his course, was determined to make the most of it. Here he was eminently successful, bolstering his leadership ambition in the Third World and at the same time earning the gratitude of the Soviet Union." Marlene Nadle has found a new apologia for this opportunism; she has not, however, proved the impossible—that Castro is breaking from the Moscow line. In fact he is serving it diligently.



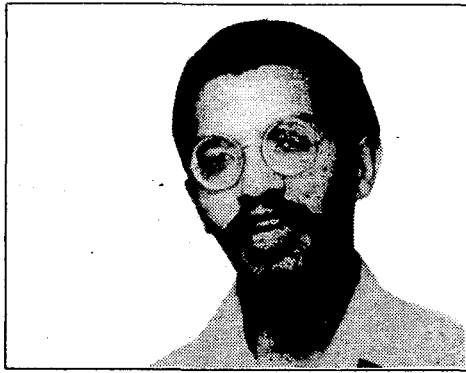
## MANNING MARABLE

# Problems and prospects for blacks in the 1980s

**BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT AT** the close of the 1970s is over twice the figure it was a decade ago. Black wages, when adjusted to the rate of inflation, are at least twenty percent lower than they were a decade ago. The militant black power organizations of the late 1960s and early 1970s: the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the African Liberation Support Committee, the Congress of African People, and many others—have disintegrated, self-destructed or were destroyed by the police and federal government. Black middle-class politicians, professional bureaucrats and educators seem to have become even more conservative on political and economic issues affecting millions of black folk. Ninety-three percent of the black votes cast for President went to Jimmy Carter in 1976; three years later, his administration has proven to be the most conservative and disastrous period of Democratic rule since the racist administration of Woodrow Wilson.

A general consensus has emerged during the last twelve months that cuts across every political tendency in black America. It is the double realization that the achievements of the previous decade of the 1960s are being lost, and that the objective material, social and political condition of the majority of our people has not been worse since the Great Depression. In the 1979 Annual Report of the Urban League, Vernon Jordan declared that black America is currently at "the brink of disaster." Writing in *Black Books Bulletin*, black nationalist activist Oba T'Shaka recently stated that there was a profound "lull in our movement." This was the direct "result of errors made by the black liberation struggle," as well as "the result of intense attack and absorption into the system of a large section of the various [black] mass movements." We have reached a new nadir, a low point, in the struggle for black liberation; our organizations are in disarray; many of our leaders have been assassinated, arrested, bought off or subtly silenced.

From the vantage point of grassroots black America, the reasons for the failures of the 1970s are clear. Since the Nixon



Administration's planned recession of 1969-70, and perhaps even before that time, black America has been the subject of a deliberate policy of racial suppression virtually without parallel in the twentieth century. This war has been waged on all fronts: intellectual, judicial, cultural, educational, economic and even spiritual. The central focus of the struggle has been the same since the historic origins of America's political and economic system—the oppression of the Afro-American at all costs.

As this racial oppression simultaneously creates and reinforces the unique structures of America's economic system, the net impact of the '70s has been the suppression of blacks on both racial and economic grounds. The decline of this country's economy and the series of recessions in 1969-70, 1973-75 and 1979 has helped to produce a growing demand to oppress blacks in both economics and politics. The crisis of race is thus tied directly to the crisis of economics.

The elements of this white attack against black equality are varied and complex. Some of the leaders of the new white supremacy movement are simply our old historic enemies, like the Ku Klux Klan. Others are liberal politicians, white intellectuals and former friends of the Civil Rights Movement. Many are white students and youth who fear being replaced by blacks in the job market or in academic work. There are several factors that contributed to the assault against black people during the 1970s, including the white intellectual assault against the equality of black people.

Prior to the Civil War, a great amount of literature was published by Southern whites that defended the racial status quo and the necessity of the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Apologists like George

Fitzhugh argued that the slave was psychologically, mentally and morally unfit for freedom. Today, pseudo-scientific theorists and intellectuals have picked up from Fitzhugh in an attempt to turn back the clock of history to the age of Jim Crow and absolute racial inferiority.

The new white intellectual assault against black equality includes at least three major trends. First, the work of geneticists and social scientists like Arthur Jensen and Shockley, which attempted to prove that blacks are intellectual inferiors to whites because of biological or genetic reasons.

Second, the rewriting of black history and the entire black experience by white social scientists to negate the more revolutionary and militant aspects of the heritage of the black struggle for freedom and self-determination. Until about thirty years ago, white historians refused to recognize even the existence of Afro-American or African history. Today, white historians like Fogel and Enderman are eagerly informing black youth that slavery wasn't so bad after all.

Third, and most critically, many white intellectuals have joined forces with the New Right to oppose affirmative action and the general desegregation of white cultural and intellectual institutions. White academicians claim to oppose the use of racial quotas in admitting black students to graduate schools and colleges on grounds of "principle." In fact, their vehement denunciation of racial quotas in both academic and vocational advancement stems from their desire to maintain white dominance over public and private institutions. The attack on affirmative action is nothing less than a thinly-veiled, racist inspired assault upon black social, cultural and economic advancement since the 1960s.

## BOBBY NELSON

## TMI Commission ignores Murphy's law

**THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE THREE MILE ISLAND** accident has ignored the somewhat amusing, but nevertheless profound, engineering concept known as Murphy's Law. It is, simply stated, "If something can go wrong, it will go wrong." It literally means that it is impossible to design a complex system that is 100 percent reliable. ¶At Three Mile Island, thousands of scientific workers spent hundreds of thousands of work-hours attempting to defeat Murphy's Law.

They incorporated a complex network of backup procedures that were intended to make the reactor positively fail-safe. The lesson of Three Mile Island is that they failed.

Ignoring this lesson, the President's Commission has focused on specific design and operating deficiencies, and in their conclusion they state that, "Given all the deficiencies, we are convinced that an accident like Three Mile Island was eventually inevitable." They have incorrectly implied that once the deficiencies are remedied, nuclear power might be made safe.

While it may be true that specific problems can be corrected, the general problem still exists. In other words, while a future reactor crisis may never again be caused by a buildup of a hydrogen bubble in the reactor vessel, as happened at Three Mile Island, Murphy's Law dictates that there is no guarantee against failure of some other component of a reactor leading to equally disastrous consequences.

Consider, as another example, the two New York City power failures of the last 15 years. After the first blackout, the investigation commissions placed the blame on the failure of certain transmission cables in the New York City area. These problems were corrected and the public was assured that a blackout would never happen again. Yet it did—the second time triggered by lightning strikes on transmission lines in upstate New York. Murphy's Law was at work again.

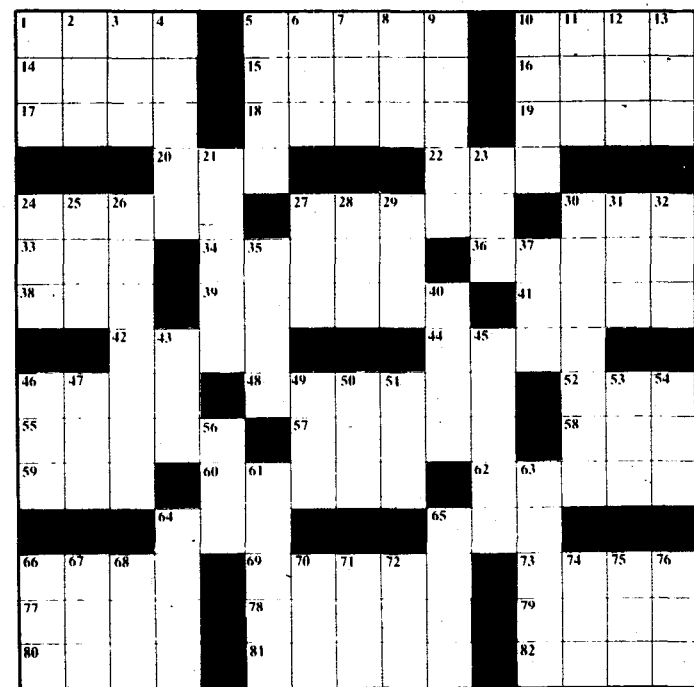
The solution to problems such as Three Mile Island lies not in trying to defeat Murphy's Law but instead, in learning to accept it. This does *not* mean that we should tolerate an occasional nuclear reactor core meltdown. Rather, it means that we should not construct nuclear power stations in the first place. In general, it means that whenever a complex system is proposed for social use, we should always ask the bottom line questions, "What if the unthinkable happens, and the whole system fails? Are the consequences acceptable to society?" In the case of fission power, the answer is No.

The problem with nuclear fission as a power generating technology is inherent in the reactor itself. When it fails, the failure is catastrophic. However, this is not true for all advanced technologies. Particularly, solar technology, by virtue of its more decentralized nature, will not cause a large scale disaster when it fails. Unfortunately, in the tradeoff between energy monopoly profits and Murphy's Law catastrophe, the profit system has thus far been allowed to win.

If the Presidential commission's suggestions are followed, only a short term stability will result. In the long run, Murphy's Law dictates that another failure will happen. We may not be so lucky the next time, because Murphy's Law has a very ominous corollary, "When it does go wrong, it will happen at the worst possible time."

## People

By David Mermelstein



## ACROSS

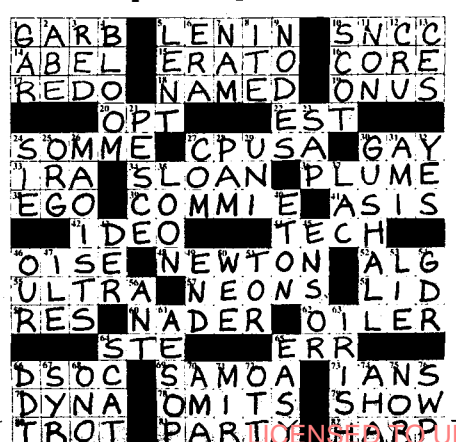
- 1 Sociologist Herb
- 5 Hiding place
- 10 Yugoslavian village
- 14 Prefix meaning peculiar
- 15 Trunk
- 16 Old Ireland
- 17 Bucky Yank
- 18 Beginning
- 19 Building recess
- 20 Refrain syllable
- 22 Attention
- 24 English novelist
- 27 Worshipped ones
- 30 Fashionable
- 33 Kennedy abbreviation
- 34 Amend
- 36 Venerable
- 38 \_\_\_\_\_ Lanka
- 39 Convertible leader?
- 41 Bird
- 42 Resound
- 44 Cartel
- 46 Well-groomed one
- 48 Marxist economist
- 52 Employ

## DOWN

- 55 Empty
- 57 Monet's stand
- 58 Family member
- 59 Sister
- 60 '60s riot area
- 62 Open
- 64 Unhelpful answer: Abbr.
- 65 Last of countdown
- 66 Persian poet
- 69 Prince in Ahasuerus court
- 73 Minuet division
- 77 Between three and island
- 78 \_\_\_\_\_ Gay
- 79 Farm animals
- 80 Sartre's "No \_\_\_\_\_"
- 81 Bob or Thomas
- 82 Dissent's Irving

- 24 \_\_\_\_\_ Kapital
- 25 Make a mistake
- 26 Feminist
- 27 Possessive
- 28 Let it be given (in prescriptions)
- 29 Hockey star
- 30 Marxist philosopher
- 31 Homophone of 29 Down
- 32 Physics branch: Abbr.
- 35 Asian country
- 37 Be indebted
- 40 Mud
- 43 Period of time: Abbr.
- 45 Defective part of DC-10
- 46 Noise
- 47 Palindromic Burmese
- 49 Off base
- 50 Munch
- 51 Building extension
- 53 Title
- 54 Erhard's org.
- 56 Palindromic animal
- 61 Hurt
- 63 Climbing herb
- 64 Harte
- 65 Judah's son
- 66 Cockney's castle
- 67 Do bar work
- 68 "The Greatest"
- 70 Prefix for place or one
- 71 Unit in physics: Abbr.
- 72 King or carte
- 74 Australian resident
- 75 Rev. union
- 76 Chemical suffix

## Answer to previous puzzle:





# IN DEPTH

## American policy keeps Vietnam from recovery

By Jack Colhoun

**YEARS OF CARPET BOMBING BY AMERICAN B-52S AND** widespread defoliation left many areas of Vietnam looking like moonscapes by the end of the war. Since 1974, a succession of natural calamities has compounded the difficulties of postwar reconstruction for Vietnam's war-devastated economy. But rather than aid Vietnam rebuild, American policy makers have done everything to thwart Vietnam's recovery. The crippled economy, in turn, has been a chief cause of the exodus of the "boat people" for which Washington has condemned Hanoi.

A report on Vietnam's ailing economy published recently by the Washington-based Center for International Policy underscores the connection between American policy and the refugee outflow. Michael Morrow, publisher of Hong Kong's *Petroleum News*, completed *Vietnam's Embargoed Economy: In the U.S. Interest?* for the Center's Indochina Project after a visit to Vietnam last June with an American Chamber of Commerce delegation. The Center for International Policy, directed by retired U.S. foreign service officer Donald L. Rensard, is a nonprofit educational and research organization specializing in American policy toward the Third World.

Having been defeated militarily in the Vietnam War, Washington shifted to economic warfare by imposing a postwar trade embargo in May 1975, under which American schools of air and their subsidiaries are forbidden to trade with Vietnam. Morrow writes, "This means that the Vietnamese have not been able to purchase the American goods and services they need, particularly to rehabilitate light industries in the south. More important, the embargo has prevented American merchants and banks from lending money to Vietnam and it has affected Hanoi's ability to conduct business from all Western countries."

Since the end of the war, Washington has pressured international financial agencies, such as the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank, not to grant aid and loans to Vietnam. At first, these agencies met with little success, but these gestures, combined with Hanoi's involvement in the toppling of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, China's subsequent invasion of Vietnam, and the refugee outflow, have resulted in Vietnam's increasing isolation from other Western countries and a growing dependence on the Soviet Union.

On Sept. 12, President Carter quietly extended the trade embargo for another year, and the State Department says the embargo will remain in force until diplomatic relations with Hanoi are normalized. Vietnam's Secretary of State Nguyen Co Thien recently revealed that amicable relations between the two countries were not achieved in October 1978. Thien contends that Washington broke off negotiations so as not to jeopardize its commitment to the U.S. which led to the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China last February. Continued hostility toward Vietnam appears to be part of the price Washington paid for playing the so-called China card against the Soviet Union.

Was Morrow's report also emphasizes the role of Hanoi's harsh policy toward Hanoi in worsening the Vietnamese economy. In May 1978, Peking abandoned its 80 assistance projects in Vietnam and suspended its \$500 million loan and aid program. Morrow finds "The exodus

of Vietnam's Chinese population, inspired in part by Peking, has drained Vietnam of skilled workers in certain key industries." During the month-long Chinese invasion in early 1979, Chinese troops systematically destroyed bridges, factories, mines and power plants in northern Vietnam in an effort to disrupt Hanoi's economic infrastructure.

Noting China's apparent attempt to isolate Vietnam in international business circles, Morrow writes, "It is now common to hear multinational corporate executives say that they want nothing to do with Vietnam for fear it will upset their deals with China." Morrow adds that some analysts believe the rupture between China and Vietnam has had a major impact on the Vietnamese economy, one as great as the U.S. trade embargo.

### Farm production down.

Traditionally, agriculture has been the backbone of the Vietnamese economy, but farm production declined precipitously during the war as the result of destruction and neglect. Since the war's end, a devastating drought in 1977, followed by the worst floods in decades in 1978, and too little sun in 1979 have kept Vietnam from restoring its prewar self-sufficiency in rice production. Despite an austere rationing system, Vietnam will likely be forced to import 2 to 3 million tons of grain in 1979 valued at \$300 million, a severe strain on a country whose annual exports total about the same amount.

Although the food shortage is borne equally by the Vietnamese population,

Dr. Ton That Tung concedes, "The Vietnamese people do not have enough to eat." Tung said recently "You can see it on the people's faces. They are pale, anemic, and skinny. Yes, they are emaciated." Tung was Ho Chi Minh's personal physician, and is the world's foremost expert on liver cancer.

The war, particularly the U.S. bombing campaign in the south designed to force peasants into Thieu-controlled relocation camps, caused the population of Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) to quadruple to four million. Refugee-swollen Ho Chi Minh City's economy was sustained during the war by American aid and military spending. Once the war ended, however, unemployment soared to between 2 and 3 million in the south.

Hanoi designed the "new economic zones," rural farming collectives on virgin land and territory long fallow because of the fighting, to relieve urban unemployment and boost agricultural production. But, as Morrow writes, the goals of the new economic zones, supported by the United Nations and others as essential to Vietnam's economic reconstruction, have not been met: Shortages of capital have made execution of policy difficult. Implements and other essentials are often lacking altogether. Food and comforts are scarce and the fruits of labor few. Not surprisingly, production has tended to be low and desertions frequent.

In hindsight, Morrow faults the Hanoi leadership for having been too ambitious in regard to agricultural policy: "Given the extreme capital and material shortages in the country, rapid self-sufficiency in rice and rapid modernization and collectivization of agriculture are not necessarily compatible goals." Morrow notes, however, "Were the U.S. to have paid the \$3.25 billion the Vietnamese claim it owed them on President Nixon's promise, things might have been different. Had the American trade embargo been lifted, or had the political situation developed differently with China and Kampuchea, such an ambitious agricultural policy might still be defensible."

The industrial sector of Vietnam's economy, according to Morrow, remains in an embryonic state, employing fewer than 2 million workers, or about 7 percent of the work force. Nonetheless, industry is better integrated with the rest of the economy than in many Southeast Asian nations. Coal production, adversely affected by the Chinese invasion, is Vietnam's primary industry. Rubber, fishing, and forestry tend to be major components in the Vietnamese economy but suffered greatly during the war. Hanoi is attempting to revitalize these sectors of the economy as a means by which to earn foreign credits in the current market.

### Oil reserves

But Hanoi's special hope for rebuilding its economy is the petroleum industry,

expected to earn much-needed foreign exchange and to spur overall modernization. A Norwegian oil study predicted Vietnam's oil resources could yield 300,000 barrels a day by the late 1980s and as much as 1 million barrels a day in the early 1990s. "But so far," Morrow says, "exploration results are spotty and the future unfortunately hinges on factors not wholly within the country's control."

Despite Peking and Washington's contention that Hanoi is a Soviet satellite, Morrow states, "Vietnam appears reluctant to rely too heavily on one source [for aid] and takes pride in receiving support from noncommunist institutions and nations." The Morrow report demonstrates Peking and Washington's hostile policies toward Vietnam have forced Hanoi to depend increasingly on Moscow.

Morrow writes "For any developing nation, especially one with ambitious programs aimed at providing sufficient food, housing, and clothing for all its citizens while attempting to jump from a pre-industrial to industrial economy in the space of a few decades, great sums of foreign investment capital are needed." Morrow and the U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council contend that the embargo unfairly penalizes American businesses, giving foreign corporations a head start in establishing trade relations with Hanoi. Consequently, Morrow and the Trade Council call upon the Carter Administration to lift the embargo immediately, believing diplomatic recognition should follow. The Trade Council was formed in 1978 by American business interests which have traded with Vietnam in the past, eager to profit from the development of Vietnam's economy.

In addition to concluding the U.S. trade embargo is not in the American economic interest, Morrow also argues that it is also not in American humanitarian and political interests: "A deteriorating economy negatively affects Vietnam's internal situation, the refugee crisis, and stability in Southeast Asia. The U.S. could deal constructively with these problems while promoting American trade with Vietnam."

Morrow and the Trade Council's call for an end to the embargo is echoed by the report of a congressional delegation led by Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D-NY), that inspected refugee camps in Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia last August. The Rosenthal delegation report warns, "The absence of normal relations between the U.S. and Vietnam is an obstacle to any long-term solution to the refugee problem in Southeast Asia."

Michael Morrow's *Vietnam's Embargoed Economy* is available from:  
Indochina Project  
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, DC 20002

Jack Colhoun was an editor of *AMEX-Canada*, the magazine formerly published by Vietnam war resisters in Canada.

## CHINA: AN UNCENSORED LOOK

By Julian Schuman

"It was a happy thought to release Julian Schuman's *CHINA: AN UNCENSORED LOOK*. This fast-paced, eye-witness account of the Kuomintang collapse and Communist takeover is excellent reporting. And his description of the Communist program in the 1950s has a surprising relevance today."

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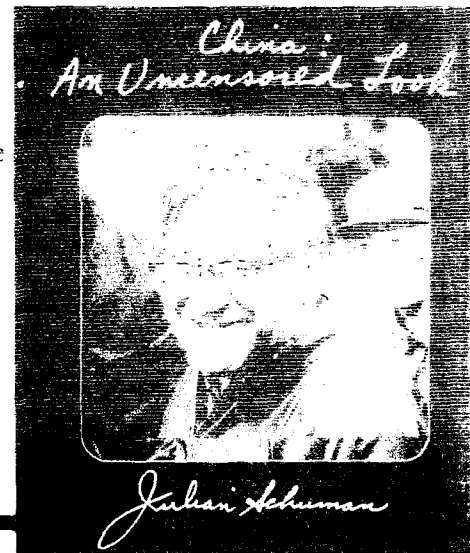
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# PERSPECTIVES

## Is Europe now hostage between East and East?

By Diana Johnstone

**IS WESTERN EUROPE A HOSTAGE OF THE SINO-SOVIET conflict, caught in the crossfire between East and West?** Chinese President Hua Guofeng in person has just bestowed his anti-hegemonistic blessings on a Western Europe that has uneasily awakened to find itself under the gun of some hundred Soviet SS 20 missiles able to carry nuclear warheads up to 3,000 miles and land then within 100 yards of target. Europe has nothing of similar range and accuracy to shoot back, and former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has just informed Europeans, in case they were wondering, that they can't count on the U.S. to risk its own hide by throwing its intercontinental nuclear missiles into a European conflict.

The conclusion, according to American logic, was drawn by NATO planners who agreed in late September to deploy 572 U.S.-made nuclear missiles in Europe over the next few years to counterbalance the SS 20s. NATO ministers will formally decide on deployment of the 464 Cruise and 108 Pershing 2 missiles in mid-December. Meanwhile, Western Europe, which (with the possible exception of Britain) is quite sold on the virtues of detente with the USSR, finds itself being threatened by the Russians and congratulated by the Chinese for accepting the American missiles.

Peking's strategic interests seem obvious. Every Soviet missile deployed against Europe is a missile not deployed against China. But is China's "let's you and him fight" anti-Soviet European policy in the interests of Europe?

That very policy may explain why the Kremlin decided a couple of years ago to aim all those deadly missiles at Europe. Western European leaders, starting with German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt,

have done their best to dissociate themselves from White House strategist Zbigniew Brzezinski's reckless "playing of the China card" in a way designed to exacerbate Sino-Soviet paranoia. This is not enough to allay Soviet fears of encirclement by a Chinese-European axis, especially when the U.S. is disengaging its responsibility from "theaters" on the same land mass with the USSR.

### Brezhnev's signal.

Speaking in East Berlin on Oct. 6, nine days before the Chinese head of state began his three-week trip to France, West Germany, England and Italy, Leonid Brezhnev offered to reduce deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in the European end of the Soviet Union in exchange for an agreement from NATO countries not to deploy more medium-range nuclear missiles stationed on their territory. NATO and the U.S. tended to brush this off as a diversion. They especially belittled Brezhnev's accompanying offer unilaterally to withdraw 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks from East Germany, noting that the tanks were obsolete and that the troops could be flown back in no time. This ignores that the purpose of such a unilateral gesture is

not to alter the balance of forces but to display both the willingness and the power to command military reductions.

Eastern European sources of varying persuasions urged the West to take Brezhnev's offer seriously. The British Sunday newspaper *The Observer* reported from Vienna that high-ranking Yugoslav and Austrian official sources said the Russians were ready to offer a gradual peaceful reunification of Germany to head off the development they fear most: revival of militant German nationalism in a powerful West Germany with growing access to nuclear weapons. Correspondent Lajos Lederer said both the non-aligned Yugoslavs and the neutral Austrians were warning that if Brezhnev fails in his bid to negotiate an arms cut, "he and his group within the leadership risk finding themselves replaced by a more extreme militarist group in the Politburo and Central Committee."

Helmut Schmidt retorted that Germans were not naive enough to believe a story like that. However, he has repeatedly stressed the need for detente and for negotiations to reduce armament levels in Europe.

### Negotiations.

All the NATO countries and all the political parties within them want to negotiate with the USSR to achieve military balance, preferably at a lower level of forces. The difference is between those who want to give the go-ahead to the U.S. missile program first and those who want to suspend the missile decision until a stab has been made at negotiations. Those who take the first position argue that going ahead with the missile buildup will strengthen Europe's bargaining posture. Those who take the second position, notably the Dutch, fear that by the time the Cruise missiles are finally deployed (around 1983), the USSR will have retaliated by further escalating its forces, widening the gap and making negotiations even more difficult. The Italian Communist Party supports the Dutch position, but discreetly, afraid of seeming to line up for the USSR against NATO. The fact that France is still outside NATO's military structure gets the French Communists off this particular hook.

Kissinger's prodding has caused some perplexity. The Bonn government has long been convinced its only effective defense against a Warsaw Pact attack is the threat of American intercontinental missiles. Admitting that this threat is empty, Kissinger said the U.S. would

supply Europe with the means to wage its own limited "theater" war, with the U.S. as spectator, waiting to see how things go before deciding how to react. He went on to concede that the capacity to wage limited war—limited to Europe, that is—increases the risks of confrontation.

Dotting the European landscape with Cruise missiles raises the danger that in an extreme crisis the countries harboring them might be wiped out by a Soviet preemptive strike. This terrifying prospect might be the surest thing to guarantee a quick European surrender to Soviet power. As a strategic thinker, Kissinger sounds like a good arms salesman.

### An alternative approach.

If the U.S. has nothing to offer West Germany but a leaky nuclear umbrella, the USSR has East Germany. Probably nothing frightens Moscow more than the prospect of the alliance Franz Josef Strauss, if elected Chancellor next year, might make with his friends in Peking. This strengthens Schmidt's bargaining position. This is an area where a lot may be going on outside public view. What has been visible is a series of East German gestures of rapprochement, including a political amnesty that freed dissident Marxist theorist Rudolf Bahro Oct. 10. Bahro shortly thereafter emigrated to West Germany, bearing the message that if everybody would just be patient and make no sudden moves to scare the Russians and cause them to clamp down, Eastern Europe might evolve peacefully in the liberal direction advocated by his banned book *The Alternative*.

Bahro said he was sure his ideas were secretly shared by Communist leaders not only in East Germany but even in Moscow, and stressed that Soviet policy, "for a thousand reasons, is neither aggressive nor expansive." He indicated that in West Germany he might stop calling himself a Communist and be a Social Democrat instead. Such hints of eventual mending and blending are the carrot.

The stick was brandished a month later by East German chief Erich Honecker when he warned, on a trip to Bulgaria, that the growing rapprochement between the two Germanies, as well as the situation of West Berlin, could be seriously jeopardized by Bonn's acceptance of the Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles.

The first visit to Europe by a Chinese ruler in the history of the world was somewhat muted by the obscure missile controversies whirring overhead and the unexciting nature of the Chinese ruler himself.

Hua was an even more eager promoter of the Cruise missiles than Kissinger. But Chinese warnings against rampant hegemonism have not swayed most Europeans' assessment of the Soviet Union as extremely cautious in military matters.

Hua began his tour in France, the first Western country (thanks to De Gaulle) to recognize People's China (in 1964). French businessmen thus got in on the ground floor, but have lost their initial advantage since China has opened up. The Chinese find French goods overpriced, and France now has an unfavorable trade balance with China. The Chinese seem very interested in purchasing French military hardware, but France is not willing to risk losing its much more lucrative trade with the Soviet Union.

While Hua was spared any contact with left opposition leaders in France, he chatted with right opposition leaders in West Germany. Nevertheless, Schmidt was firmest of all in stressing his government's commitment to detente with the Soviet Union. It wasn't till he got to Margaret Thatcher's Britain that Hua could go all-out in blasting hegemonism. Britain is China's likeliest source of arms.

The Italian government, delighted that Hua had not left out Italy altogether, let its Chinese guest offend the Russians to his heart's content. But it also introduced him to his first Eurocommunist leaders. Italy also moved quickly to accept the Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles—not out of any new "sense of responsibility" (as U.S. military planners would have it) but out of habitual inability to say "no" to pressure, added to the longstanding assumption that nuclear warfare is altogether too ghastly to be taken seriously.

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## Spain

Continued from page 9.

—this time, a member of a leftist group that had come out in favor of the Statute (and following too uncomfortably close not to look like a reprisal).

### War continues: ETA vs. the police.

Adding to the tension was a spate of violence between ETA and the police, who have been at war for years (Basques have considered national police an occupying army). In a gangland-type hit, eight national police were machine-gunned to death while eating lunch in a restaurant one day.

A young man—the last prisoner released under the 1977 amnesty instituted by the post-Franco government—was killed by Civil Guards. They were out looking for a private radio station when they found this mark. They claim he was the leader of an independent armed group responsible for assassinations and robberies.

Despite an animated campaign in favor of abstention, there was 60 percent participation in the referendum, of which 90 percent cast "yes" votes. The 40 percent abstention was not much more than could be attributed to lack of interest. Perhaps 2 percent of the abstainers stayed away from the polls convinced of the Herri Batasuna argument.

The Basques rejected the Constitution of 1978 by adhering to a PNV call for abstention—51 percent of them. They rejected it because it did not guarantee nationalist rights. Now, however, they have chosen to accept the Statute it provided. They hope it will open the door

to a "political solution" rather than an armed struggle. Peace in Euskadi, however, will be a long time coming.

## Ireland

Continued from page 10.

Blanket Men it may as well not have started. But not to worry, we'd get the result the next day at mass if the priest was a football fan. And sure enough, next morning Father Faul arrived in our mass. Can you imagine the scene? About 70 or 80 Blanket Men sitting on the floor in an empty room, barred gates and barred windows to enclose the men, and Father Faul at the 'altar' for mass. We get a sound and vision commentary on the final with Father Faul kicking, tackling, passing, and heading the ball for goal in what was definitely an award winning performance.

"As the priest raises his hand to give the final blessing all eyes are firmly fixed on the remains of the wine bottle sitting on the altar, all QC men are on their marks ready to sprint as soon as the final words are said. 'Go forth in peace' and 'they're off.' There's not much in it as Perry 'Napper' McLarnon and Hush Hush 'Ceann Trom' Fleming battle it out for the first slug. Perry wins and quickly drowns his shamrock, the only man in H Block to do so. 'If my Granny could see me now,' says Perry, proudly holding up the empty wine bottle. The priest quickly gathers up his belongings and slides out the grill leaving behind a state of chaos. The 'lockup' is called and the congregation leave the canteen and after another search are put back in their cells."



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## PAINTING

## Fasanella's art reveals roots of working life

By Joe Holland

About four years ago I first encountered Ralph Fasanella's work. Sitting in the United Nations listening to speeches about the New International Economic Order, I struck up a conversation with the man next to me. It turned out he was an old friend of Ralph.

They had both been in the UE and had both fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain. Their ways had since parted, but the man still wanted to talk about Ralph. In fact, he even took me to his office nearby and presented me with a book about Ralph's painting, Patrick Watson's *Fasanella's City* (Knopf). I looked at the print and was spellbound.

For the next few months, the book was my constant companion. My friends thought I was obsessed with the thing, for I demanded that they all study it. But they were equally impressed. Months later, I met Ralph at a New York conference on ethnicity. When I told him about meeting his old friend from the UE, his face lit up, and we went out to have some beers together. His person was as amusing as his paintings.

Later I looked back more reflectively and asked what it was that so seized me in Ralph's work. The key theme that comes out of Ralph's work is rootedness, something he was driven to retrieve. The American left, which he loved, was taking him away from his past and the Italian American culture of New York, which he also dearly loved. A politics of uprootedness—he

*Ralph's city scenes have a stained-glass brilliance that celebrates the sacredness of working people's lives.*

never said it this abstractly—could never develop a broad following in American culture.

Ralph then began his long journey, the pilgrimage of a tough, mature, blue collar, leftist union organizer driven to express the roots of his people in the contemplative vision of an artist.

Perhaps it was my own roots in a multi-ethnic neighborhood of New York city that drew me to Ralph's paintings. The scenes of stick-ball, fire escape ladders, streets and apartments filled with people brought back nostalgic memories of my own early boyhood.

**Real people.**

There was something different about how Ralph painted the city, from the kind of urban graphic portrayals one often finds on the left. The art of the left frequently stresses the ugliness of the city, the misery of



*Family Supper celebrates the informal bonds that give people strength.*

poverty. To combat this, it stresses the potential organized power of the masses.

"Masses" is a word I have always hated—it seems like a description that can only be spoken by one who is outside the masses they are trying to describe. The masses from the inside are always people—real individual human beings bonding themselves through networks of kinship, neighborhood and personal loyalties. A view that sees people only as masses forgets about these subtle bondings that build unity within the working class and the poor. But a politics that is only mass-oriented, not rooted in the real networks of ordinary people, may well become a politics that destroys rootedness and increases the potential for human manipulation.

Ralph uses the words "masses" in his speech, but his paintings reach deeper. In Ralph's paintings of New York, people overflow the canvas. His editor Patrick Watson has described it as a "population explosion." But they are always celebrations of real warm individuals linked informally, never cold abstract masses. Ralph's painting is first of all, I think, a protest against uprooted politics and an invitation to a rooted one.

Similarly the art (or at least the graphics) of the left often highlight the ugliness of the situation it protests—the negative side. Its cities are often seen as places where life is extinguished, where joy and play do not enter. Outrage is the dominant emotion. Understandably the desire is to disclose the sinfulness of the situation in order to mobilize people against it. But what does

this say of the resourcefulness of the people who inhabit these scenes of misery? Is their resistance expressed not only in outrage, but also in creativity? And if the poor and the working class itself is to transform the situation, need we not find first the threads of their own creativity and make that the point of political departure?

Recently I was visiting some friends in an urban squatter settlement in the Philippines. It struck me that there were two ways of approaching the situation. One could see only the garbage and the raw sewage that flowed beneath the shacks, and rightfully scream in outrage that the situation is totally inhuman. Or one could see the little flower plots that these poorest of the poor placed here and there to bring a little beauty; delight to the abundant smells of cooking fish and warm rice; rejoice in the abundant joy of little children everywhere. Of course both strains are present, and both should be in art, but an art that sees only the outrage and not simultaneously the creativity is an art that does not respect the genius of poor people themselves. This is, I think, Ralph's second message—that the politics of rootedness begins with the creativity of the exploited and oppressed themselves.

**Mystery.**

Finally, there is a third theme that pervades all Ralph's work—sacredness. For Ralph all of life is sacred. A dimension of mystery emanates from all creation. This gaze into the sacred for Ralph is cast in the light of his own Italian American tradi-

tion, which in turn is rooted in the Catholic Mediterranean culture. Different, for example, from the American puritan tradition, sacredness is not carried by pure white light devoid of color and shadow. No, the sacred is the contrast of darkness, shadow and many colors. The disclosure is not in the light, but in the hiddenness of darkness, in the recesses of death itself. But buried within the darkness is the splendid refraction of multi-colored light. Sacredness is like the dark caves of a Mediterranean church, illumined the splendor of stained glass. For Ralph, and for much of Italian culture the sacredness of life is one great stained glass window. And so Ralph's New York is filled with color, filled with tiny details of brilliance.

Often the left has felt that the sense of sacredness was tied to legitimization of established structures. Indeed in the past it has been so. But may not Ralph be telling us that sacredness can also be subversive—that because even the little people are sacred, and the place where they dwell, they cannot be crushed? And may it not be people's discovery of their own sacredness, and of the creativity which flows from it, which may prove the left's most powerful resource?

For showing me these three gifts—the rootedness, creativity, and sacredness of ordinary people—I will always be grateful to Ralph Fasanella.

Joe Holland has also written about Ralph Fasanella in a booklet, "Flag, Faith and Family," \$1. from New Patriot Alliance, 343 S. Dearborn, #305, Chicago IL 60604.

## Guindon



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"I'm afraid I just melted one of your shirts."



**DEATH ON THE JOB**

By Daniel Berman  
Monthly Review Press, \$12.95,  
hard, \$5.95 paper.

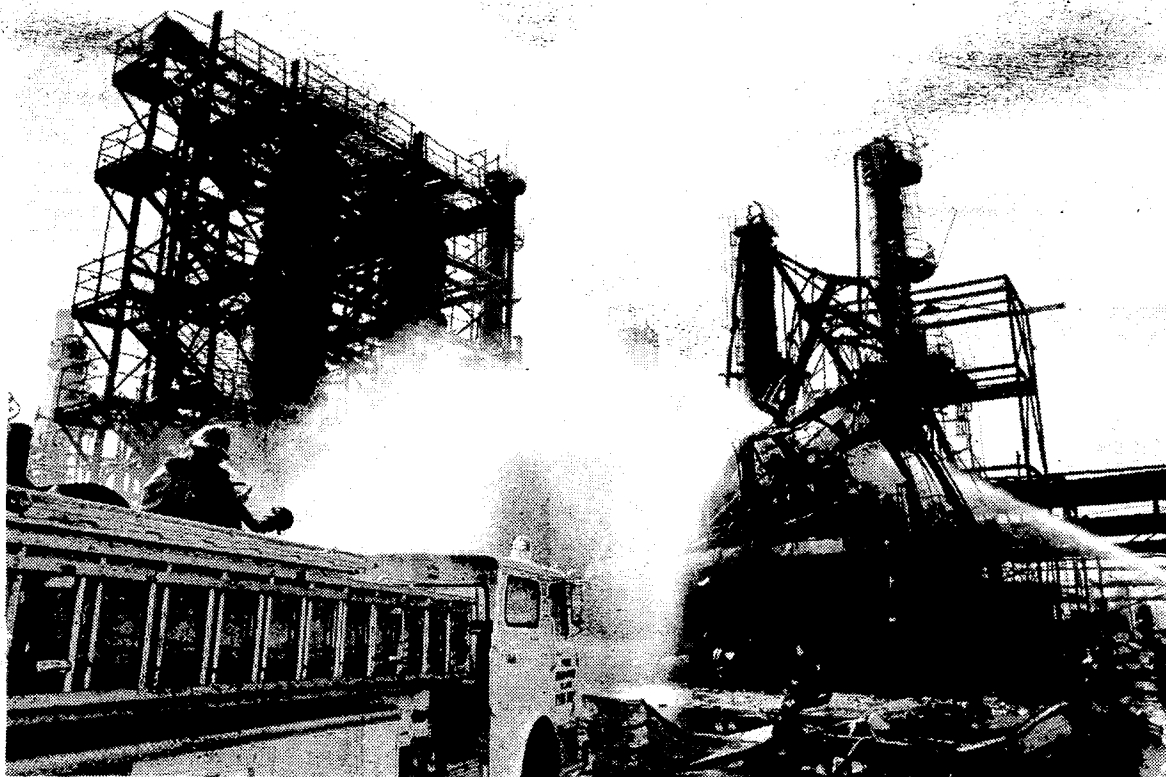
By Charles Piller

During the thirty-three years Marcos Velas worked for the Johns-Manville asbestos factory in Pittsburg, Calif., he was examined four times by company-paid physicians. Despite 10 years of medical evidence of asbestos-caused lung disease, Velas was told nothing of his condition. Johns-Manville Corporation is the world's largest producer of asbestos. It had known since 1931, from its own research, of the dangers of asbestos.

In a way, Vela was lucky. As many as 25,000 workers die on the job yearly. He received a \$351,000 malpractice settlement. But he can't run, and has one fourth the normal lung capacity. A cold puts him in the hospital. "How could such an atrocity occur?...Must the everyday functioning of American capitalism destroy Marcos Velas as inevitably as it produces Chevrolets?"

These are the questions Dan Berman asks as he begins *Death On The Job*. The book is meticulously documented—an activist has done his home work. *Death On The Job* is a detailed analysis of the massive problem of occupational health and safety, written for those involved in the struggles for better conditions.

For workers and unions, a main point of the book is to identify and clarify the "compensation safety apparatus"—the government-industry health and safety labyrinth. As Berman explains, "It is called the *compensation-safety* apparatus because it emphasizes compensation over prevention and safety over health in its activities. It is an *apparatus* because it has executed the policies of business and insurance interests for decades as the only organized constituency in occu-

**BOOKS ON HEALTH**

An explosion at this Denver refinery killed three and injured 14.

**The fight for safe work**

pational safety and health."

Berman goes on to demonstrate how this apparatus functions institutionally through pro-corporate organizations and government agencies, medical center training in "industrial health" and industry controlled physicians and clinics.

Ten years ago, safety and health issues were relatively obscure. But in the late '60s, standards for toxic workplace exposures were pushed through, and in 1970 the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) was passed. Since then, the unions, often despite footdragging leadership, have begun to make important progress. The tremendous gains of several unions, including the United

Auto Workers, the United Steel Workers of America and the United Mine Workers are detailed in *Death On The Job*.

Berman is Occupational Health Coordinator for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. OCAW, under the leadership of Tony Mazzocchi, former International Vice President and current Health and Safety Director, is perhaps the most progressive union on these issues. The book reflects the author's loyalty to strong union action as the only way to tackle the problem.

**COSH groups.**

Berman talks in terms of the "occupational health movement," consisting of labor unions,

medical people and left intelligentsia. A major mechanism for these components to interact and assist each other are the COSH groups—committees on occupational safety and health.

These have sprung up around the country in this decade, providing technical information for workers and unions, assisting in organizing and legislative efforts as well as education.

The most successful example, which Berman helped found, is Chicago Area COSH (CACOSH). CACOSH, working in a city with a large concentration of unionized industrial workers, has provided educational services and helped unions make real gains on the bargaining table.

Not all the COSH groups

have been so successful, however. Berman points out that the contradiction between action to change power relationships responsible for these problems and the urgent need for direct service to individuals has caused some of the groups to fail, a point socialists would do well to carefully consider.

This book is best evaluated in historical context. During the Great Depression occupational safety and health issues were on the back burner amid the desperation for any employment. In the last 10 years, great gains have been won.

Yet the current economic crisis is already infringing on labor's hard-fought victories. Herein lies the book's most important contribution—assistance to those who must organize to protect the gains of the '70s and build upon them.

This is not a mass-appeal book about a problem that effects millions annually. Such a book, indeed many books are needed. Yet, changes will ultimately be made by workers' demands on the shop floor. These workers will be reached through union educational programs, COSH services and organizing drives directly attacking the cause of their workplace dangers. *Death On The Job* will equip organizers and leaders with information necessary to intelligently plan strategy, take action and educate the rank and file.

This will be a long fight. High unemployment, endemic to our economic system, removes labor's greatest bargaining chip. Bringing these ideas to their logical conclusion leads Berman, and the reader, to the understanding that the final solutions are full employment and worker control.

Charles Piller is editor of the *Haight Ashbury Free Medical Clinic Newsletter*. *Death On The Job* is available from *IN THESE TIMES*.

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**The search for miracle cancer cures**

**MALIGNANT NEGLECT**  
The Environmental Defense  
Fund and Robert H. Boyle.  
Knopf, \$10.00

By Jim Bouman

Robert H. Boyle and his collaborators at the Environmental Defense Fund present in this handbook on cancer a well documented overview of the disease—what causes it, who is getting it. A fundamental cause of this preventable plague, as they see it, is the failure of government in the face of appalling industrial neglect.

Some of the cancers most easily cured when detected early—breast cancer, for example—are extremely difficult to link to a specific cause. And others, most notably lung cancer, are simple to link to a cause, intractable when a cure is sought.

And so there is much irony in Boyle's description of how the National Cancer Institute was founded in 1971 as the source of the long sought breakthrough in the fight against cancer. Cancer is probably not susceptible to breakthrough cures and will not be neutralized by some yet-to-be-discovered drug or unique therapy. Yet the NCI put the bulk of its funds into researching a cure, and it largely ignored the potential for reducing the cancer rate through discovering carcinogens and causing them to be banned or controlled.

The population of the world

is being decimated by a preventable disease. Some of the preventive measures can be taken by individuals—avoiding contact with suspect food and water, x-rays, consumer goods like hair dyes and tris-treated sleepwear, pesticides and cigarette smoke. These cautionary steps clearly lessen risk.

But public health measures and tough control of workplace contamination are equally as essential, perhaps more so. Putting controls on dumping of toxic wastes, air pollution, nuclear radiation sources, chemical adulteration of food and animal feed—these are the essential protections the citizen needs.

While discussion of workplace exposure to carcinogens receives far too little mention in this book, it is evident that some of the worst crimes against worker health have been committed by politicians and bureaucrats toadying to the desires of big business. Boyle recounts how Watergate Committee records disclosed that Nixon's re-election scheming included a survey of how department programs "could contribute to the President's re-election." The first head of OSHA, Pennsylvania executive George Guenther, dutifully promised to do his part: "While promulgation and modification activity must continue, no highly controversial standards (i.e., cotton dust, etc.) will be proposed by OSHA." He then went on to say, "Suggestions as to how to promote

the advantages of four more years of properly managed OSHA for use in the campaign would be appreciated."

The price of civilization with chemicals, pesticides, PCB's, radiation and asbestos is cancer. Boyle argues that we need not be neurotic about the cancer threat, that a fatalist response—that life itself is carcinogenic and it is impossible to avoid cancer causing agents—amounts to giving up a fight that can be won. "Instead of despair we need determination—determination to use our intelligence in order to deal with the environmental causes of cancer, coolly, practically and realistically."

This up-beat pep talk is a bit hard to accept. The EDF court battles have been long, hard struggles, minor victories won at great cost. The inertia of bureaucrats, the perversity of politicians who will pass legislation to protect voters against dangerous substances, then go weak-kneed when enforcement time arrives—all of these are likely to overcome even the best intentioned citizen activism.

Nevertheless, this book provides an understandable and useable reference to the problem of cancer and the requirements for solving the problem. ■ Jim Bouman is the editor of *Counterpart*, a medical newsletter.

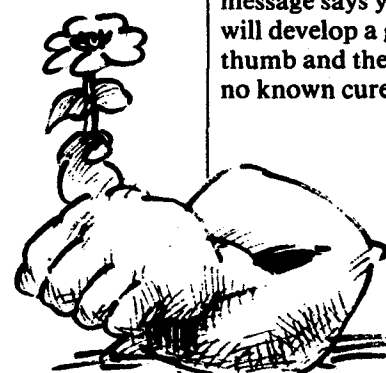
**CULTURE SHOCK****PRIME TIME PREZ**

Two New York Democrats have organized a committee to draft NBC president Fred Silverman for president of the U.S. They cite several advantages, including: "Allocate gasoline fairly—by means of a new show called 'Bowling for Gallons.'"

**MODERN TIMES**

Now on sale in Boston are misfortune cookies.

They look like fortune cookies, but the message inside is different. For instance, one message says you will develop a green thumb and there is no known cure.





## SPORTS

# The year of the rookie and the crippled center

By Mark Naison

This National Basketball Association (NBA) season should be dubbed the Year of the Rookie, or the Year of the Crippled Center.

Never in recent memory have so many fine rookies come into the league. Three of them—Larry Bird of the Celtics, Magic Johnson of the Lakers, and Bill Cartwright of the Knicks—have turned the franchise around, and at least 10 others are playing a major role on the teams that drafted them.

This has helped the NBA survive a rash of injuries that have sidelined four of the League's top centers—Bill Walton of the Clippers, Artis Gilmore of the Bulls, Marvin Webster of the Knicks, and Mitch Kupchak of the Bullets.

Recognizing that the hospital list may be more important than the playbook in determining the final standings, let's see how the teams promise to shape up during the rest of the year.

## ATLANTIC DIVISION:

**Philadelphia 76ers:** The Sixers look better than ever. Doug Collins is healthy, Dr. J is up to his old magic, and Darryl Dawkins has concentrated his formidable skills on rebounding and shot-blocking. No team has a better starting five or a better bench, but if Collins or Erving gets hurt, they could fall short in the playoffs.

**Celtics:** Larry Bird is as good as advertised—a great shooter, rebounder and passer. His play, plus a rejuvenated Elmore and a healthy Jimmy Archibald, should propel the Celtics into contention. But they are still one backcourtman away from the very top.

**New York Knicks:** Bill Cartwright is the center the Knicks have been dreaming about since Willis Reed retired—an unstoppable scorer and a good passer. His presence seems to have brought sudden maturity to Ray Williams and Mike Richardson, two of the most physically talented guards in the NBA. If this team holds together, it will surprise a lot of people.

**Washington Bullets:** This is the year that age will finally catch up with this great veteran team. With Kupchak hurt, Elvin Hayes, Wes Unseld and Bob Dandridge will be worn down by the end of the season. With the exception of Greg Ballard, the bench isn't good enough to take up the slack.

**New Jersey Nets:** This team will scratch and claw, but they don't have the scorers to win consistently. John Williamson is the team's only great shooter, though rookie Calvin Natt is destined for stardom at the small forward position.

## CENTRAL DIVISION

**San Antonio Spurs:** Any team with George Gervin and Larry Kenon in the lineup can put the ball in the hoop, and the Spurs can beat anyone in the league on a given night. But they lack a dominating center and are likely to wilt in the playoffs.

**Detroit Pistons:** This team has some extraordinarily talented players, notably centers Bob

*This season's basketball predictions may depend more on the hospital list than on the playbook.*

Lanier and Bob MacAdoo and rookie forward Greg Kesler. They are deep in every position. But can they play together? MacAdoo has yet to show he can adapt to a team concept. If he does, the Pistons may be a powerhouse.

**Atlanta Hawks:** The Hawks have won respect around the league for their hustling, pressing defense and opportunistic play. They have great team quickness and a few excellent scorers. But like the Spurs, the lack of a top-flight center will keep them from a championship.

**Indiana Pacers:** The Pacers are quick and have great shooters at every position, but they are weak defensively and have a poor bench.

**Houston Rockets:** Moses Malone is one of the game's great players, but the Rockets give him little help defensively or on the boards. Calvin Murphy, Rudy Tomjanovich and Rick Barry can all score, but give up as many points as they get.

**Cleveland Cavaliers:** The Cavaliers have inadequate centers, poor rebounding, and a weak bench. This should keep them firmly in the cellar of the Central Division.

## MIDWESTERN DIVISION

**Milwaukee Bucks:** The Bucks are on the verge of becoming one of the league's top teams. With Dave Myers healthy, and the addition of two fine rookies, Sidney Moncrief and Pat Cummings, Milwaukee has as much depth as any team in the NBA. Marques Johnson, Brian Winters and the underrated Junior Bridgeman are particular standouts, and if Kent Benson improves, they may be a powerhouse for years to come.

**Kansas City Kings:** In Phil Ford and Otis Birdsong, the Kings have one of the league's top backcourts. And they have several fine small forwards. But they lack rebounding, and a good defensive center.

**Denver Nuggets:** This team, once a powerhouse, has fallen on evil days. George McGinnis is overweight, Dan Issel is slowing down, and David Thompson has still not adjusted fully to the backcourt. They have enough talent to rebound from their dismal start, though not to be a contender.

**Chicago Bulls:** Until Artis Gil-

more got hurt, the Bulls showed potential to be a fine team. Rookie David Greenwood is a first rate strong forward, and their backcourt looked stronger with the addition of Ricky Sobers. But with Gilmore sidelined, Chicago fans will have to wait till next year.

**Utah Jazz:** This team has some of the NBA's prime malcontents and prima donnas—notably Pete Maravich and Adrian Dantley. So long as basketball is played with one ball, Utah is in deep trouble.

## WESTERN DIVISION

**Los Angeles Lakers:** Magic Johnson is just the elixir needed to inject life into Kareem Jabbar, who has been playing at half speed for the last five years. Johnson will probably become the greatest backcourtman in NBA history, and his enthusiasm and talent have already proved contagious. Now that Jim Chones gives Kareem some relief at center, watch out! The Lakers can take it all.

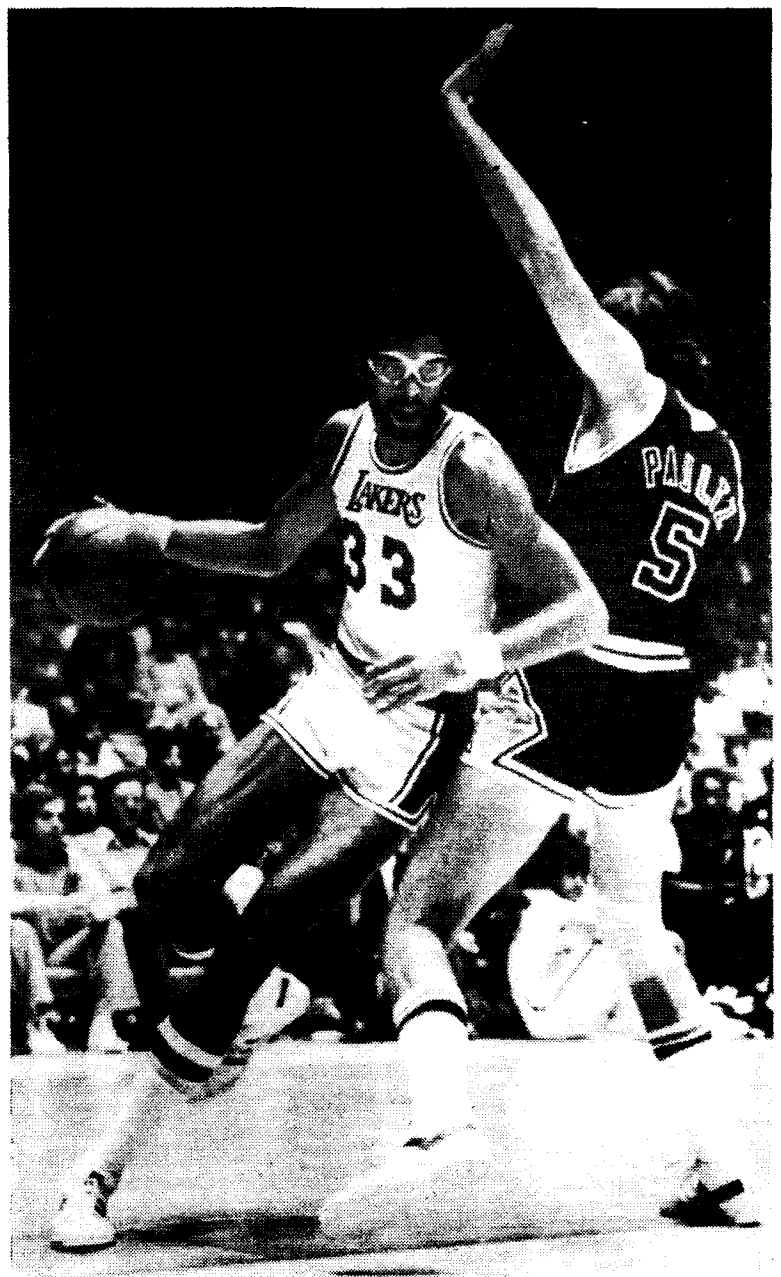
**Portland Trailblazers:** With most of their starters out with injuries, the Blazers are tearing up the league. They have great defensive guards, an awesome power forward, a fine center and several good rookies. When Maurice Lucas and Mychal Thompson return to health, they are going to be an awesome team.

**Phoenix Suns:** The Suns are a team with great quickness, balance and fine shooting. But they lack a dominating defensive center and a strong bench and have the misfortune of playing in the league's strongest division.

**Seattle Supersonics:** Like the Bullets, last year's champion Sonics are suffering from the aging of key players—John Johnson and Paul Silas. The rest of their starters are still strong, but the league is a lot tougher this year, and the Sonics lack the bench to repeat as champions.

**Golden State Warriors:** The Warriors have a fine center in Robert Parish, and good guards in Phil Smith and John Lucas, but are weak at forward and have a poor bench.

**San Diego Clippers:** "If Bill Walton were healthy." This refrain will haunt the Clippers all this year and maybe much longer. Walton won't be able to play



Kareem Jabbar (left) may play at full speed, thanks to Magic Johnson.

more than a third of the season, and that's not enough to move the Clippers into contention. Meanwhile, lean back and enjoy the Lloyd Free show, the best demonstrator of pure schoolyard talent the NBA has to offer.

## PREDICTION

There are a lot of great teams, but barring injuries, I see the

Sixers taking the East and the Lakers taking the West. In a contest between the two, I pick the Lakers. Aided by Magic Johnson, a good backup center, and some strong rebounding forwards, Kareem won't be exhausted by the time the playoffs come, and when he's at the top of his game, he's still the NBA's premier player. ■

*In These Times covers the labor movement from top to bottom, from the big struggles to the small. It can be expected to give the kind of political coverage you can't find elsewhere. I urge you to subscribe to In These Times.*



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## SCIENCE

# Comic Einstein relatively clear

## EINSTEIN FOR BEGINNERS

By Joseph Schwartz, with illustrations by Michael McGuinness  
Pantheon, \$8.95 hard, \$2.95 paper.

### By Michael Goldhaber

Albert Einstein statues, conferences, stamps, book and TV specials have been all over the place in 1979, his centennial year. Now we have a comic book with a left perspective, in the same series as *Marx for Beginners*, *Lenin for Beginners* and *The Anti-Nuclear Handbook*.

A crazy idea? Not necessarily. Pictures and diagrams often make scientific ideas easier to grasp even for their authors. And it can't hurt socialists to indulge in a little humor.

But it's not clear that this comic book will help beginners more than aids that already exist.

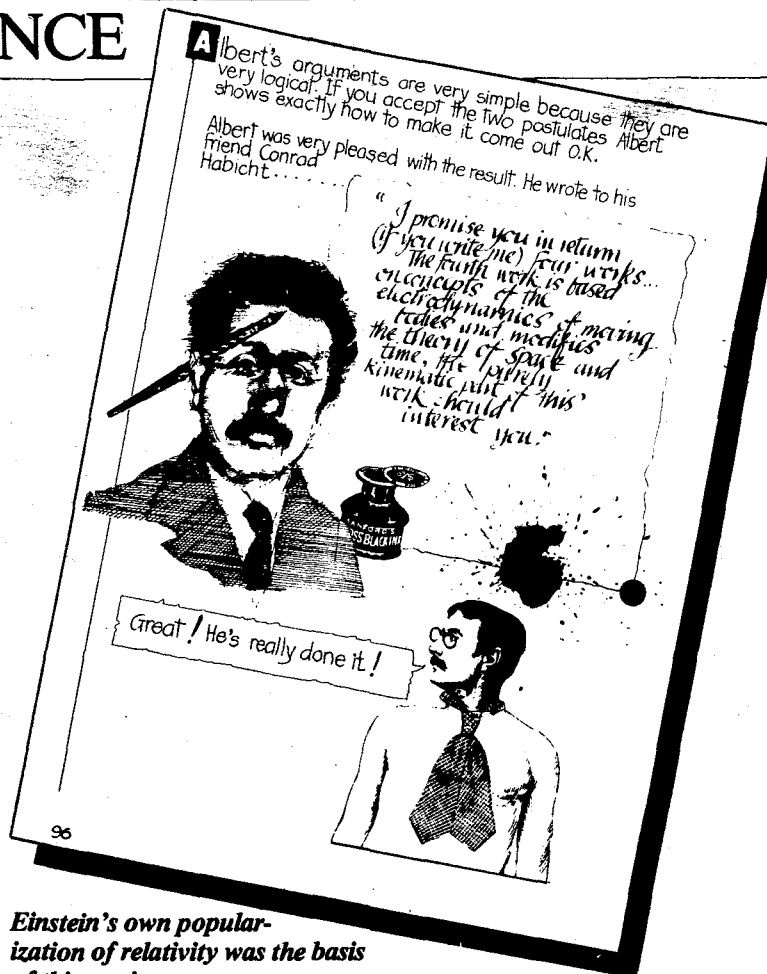
More than half of *Einstein for Beginners* is devoted to placing the only theory discussed—the 1905 special theory of relativity—into its historical context. But Schwartz uses a potpourri approach, an overly rigid application of the insight that individual genius arises out of a historical context. There is a little of Lenin on imperialism, a table of revolutions and depressions, a mini-biography of Werner von Siemens (the German electrical magnate who financed

several large laboratories). There are histories of electricity, magnetism and mathematics, each starting back in antiquity. We learn "Knowledge accumulates through work," and "Curiosity is just a way of saying that human beings can change their environment, can improve things, can discover what is useful or not" (it is?). An account of anti-Semitism in Germany before 1900 is presented so that a "beginner" might easily be confused about which side the book is on. Along with this sometimes irrelevant and usually inadequate material is a delightful look at Einstein's early life.

### Relativity.

The account of the special theory of relativity doesn't have much to do with this. It takes up the remaining 75 pages of the book and follows standard explanations of two 1905 papers. It is for the most part clear, patient and sprightly. At times, however, the tone verges on the patronizing and the jokes have an overly Yiddish flavor ("oy veh," "don't get a nervous breakdown") or are just distracting. Sometimes it's not clear that steps in the mathematical derivation are being left out.

These papers are the favorites of popularizers because they are clear, use mostly elementary algebra, involve paradoxes about everyday subjects, tell us  $E=mc^2$  and were Einstein's first claim to fame. In fact Einstein did his



Einstein's own popularization of relativity was the basis of this version.

own popularization: *Relativity*, worth looking at and the basis of most others, including this one.

The narrative leaves Einstein at age 26, with only passing mention of what is today coming to be recognized as his greatest achievement: the general theory of relativity. There is not so much a listing of Einstein's many other contributions to physics. (Jeremy Bernstein's biography *Einstein* provides this information.)

Einstein's work has had tremendous impact on most branches of contemporary science, on technology from lasers to nylon to transistors to A-bombs and on our thinking. What does Schwartz say Ein-

stein's impact was? He doesn't.

### Nuclear impact.

The question, "What about the A-bomb?" is however, brought up twice. After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the bomb was "explained" in the press as an application of Einstein's famous formula connecting mass and energy,  $E=mc^2$ . Schwartz says Einstein had practically nothing to do with it.

This is a half truth. Relativity was essential to the understanding of nuclear reactions. Complex moral questions connected with the application of scientific discoveries are not adequately dealt with by fudging.

These inadequacies of the book stem from the author's

viewpoint, which combines hero worship and Marxist theory reduced to little more than patronizing rhetoric. Like the General Electric comic books on science we got in grade school, this book lays down dogma under the guise of education and entertainment.

Instead of being effective, though, *Einstein for Beginners* is merely ludicrous. Most readers will put it down as soon as they see Marx and Lenin cavorting over the opening pages. But those who do read it will get all the little cheers for "materialism."

Why they're there is not clear. Schwartz appears to be trying to equate materialism in science with Marx's historical materialism and hence with "scientific socialism." It seems both a misunderstanding of science and of a politically useful Marxism.

Like any new scientific theory, special relativity displaced older concepts, including the aether and the absoluteness of space and time. You could label these concepts "metaphysical" or "idealist." But Schwartz and McGuinness don't give us any reason to accept that these concepts are less "material" than their replacements—such as the principle of relativity.

The papers here praised materialist are precisely the one most strongly influenced by Er Mach's empiricism, to which Lenin devoted one of his long books to blasting as idealist. the Soviet Union, relativity at one time labelled idealist condemned.

These labels don't tell much. Too bad *Einstein for Beginners* didn't respect the ability of their readers to follow Einstein's example of examining rather than ignoring dilemmas, whether in science or politics.

Michael Goldhaber has physics at the University of California, Berkeley.

## CLASSIFIED

### CALENDAR

Beginning with our next issue, *In These Times* will publish a weekly calendar of upcoming events. The fee for this listing is \$10.00. We only ask that you keep your message to a maximum of 40 words and that we receive the copy on Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. Each issue is dated Wednesday. Your message will run for a maximum of 6 weeks. Send copy and check to: Bob Nicklas, ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.

Friday, November 30, 1979  
FORUM—"Who's Killing Cook County": a crisis in medical care. Bob Cohen and Gordon Schiff, doctors at Cook County Hospital, will provide a behind-the-scenes look at both the villains and victims in the struggle over who controls Cook County Hospital. Friday, November 30, 7:30 p.m., Wellington Ave. Church of Christ, 615 W. Wellington Ave. Sponsored by the New American Movement. \$2.00 at the door.

### ORGANIZATIONS

"TAKE BACK THE NIGHT" We are a group of women organizing the

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CORPUS—National Association Registered/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

FOR A COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH IN MINNESOTA, contact the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association, 3200 Chicago Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407

### PUBLICATIONS

A GUIDE TO COOPERATIVE ALTERNATIVES, a resource directory published by *Communities Magazine*, \$6.80 post-paid from our bookshop. For our free list of periodicals by mail send us your name, address and a 15¢ stamp. A Periodical Retreat, 336 1/2 S. State, Ann Arbor, MI 48104.

THE BODY-MIND BOOK: NINE WAYS TO AWARENESS by Bernice Selden is part do-it-yourself, part experiential and all solid research on body work, the best the human

potential movement has to offer. The methods are: AIKIDO, THE ALEXANDER TECHNIQUE, BIOENERGETICS, BIOFEEDBACK, THE FELDENKRAIS METHOD, ROLFING, SENSORY AWARENESS, SHAITSU AND TAI CHI CHUAN. \$7.29 (+ 65¢ postage) from Julian Messner, Simon & Schuster Bldg., 1230 Ave. of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020.

THE GATHERING OF THE TRIBES OF THE EARTH; a book of 34 drawings. \$3 per copy: John Ashbaugh, 452 W. Doty St., Madison, WI 53703

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### AUDIO-VISUAL

SLIDES/TAPES FOR ORGANIZERS—Topics: antinuclear, clerical, workers, urban displacement. For information: Community Media Productions, Inc., 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, OH 45406. 513/222-0170.

### HELP WANTED

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY (Director) American Friends Service Committee seeks executive Secretary (Director) for New England Regional Office to act as chief administrator and Personnel Officer of six state region, with primary responsibility for coordination of regional program development and implementation, oversight of 40 person staff, and interpretation of AFSC work and concerns to the public. Must have strong administrative and program development experience, knowledge of national/int'l issues, peace and/or community organizing experience, and commitment to pacifism and social/economic justice. To begin Summer, 1980. Salary: \$15,00 negotiable. Excellent fringe benefits. Submit resume by January 10 to: Personnel Coordinator, AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140

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By Lynn Garafola

In the mid-'70s the "dance boom" became a fact of American life. *Time* and *Newsweek* ran cover stories on ballet superstars, *People Magazine* a "bio" on choreographer George Balanchine. *Turning Point* scored at the box office, *Chorus Line* on Broadway, and *Dance in America* topped PBS rating charts. By 1976, baseball and ballet had teamed up. "Bucky Dent loves the new national pastime, ballet," claimed a fund-raising ad in *Newsweek*. "Join him as a Friend of American Ballet Theatre."

Since 1970, dance has become the country's fastest growing art. Over the decade, the number of professional troupes has quadrupled, audiences for live performances have jumped to 70 million, and the number of dancers in New York alone is estimated at over 2,000. In New York more was spent on ballet admissions than on any single sport except baseball this year.

More than any other factor, the large-scale release of public monies through the National Endowment for the Arts accounts for this phenomenal growth. In fiscal 1966, NEA allocated \$505,000 to dance. By 1973, the figure had increased fourfold. In 1978-79 dance had achieved parity with drama with grants amounting to \$6.9 million.

NEA has from its inception stressed "access" as a major policy goal. One of its most successful achievements has been the Dance Touring Program. The Touring Program in 1977-78 booked nationwide tours for 117 troupes through 283 co-sponsoring organizations to guarantee a minimum number of performances each year. The Dance Touring Program has not only kept financially troubled companies afloat, but, like the NEA-funded Dance Voucher program, has been instrumental in creating new and enthusiastic audiences for dance.

What dance critic Anna Kisselgoff has called "the search for the disenfranchised public" has fostered the growth of black and Latin companies as well. Alvin Ailey's American Dance Theatre is typical of minority companies that have achieved public and critical success in the '70s after years of financial difficulty and limited recognition. Like the Ballet Hispanico and the Clark Center—a major New York producing organization for minority troupes—Ailey's company is more than a performing ensemble. Numerous minority students come to the school for training while the company's seasons attract large black audiences.

#### Boom in the heartland.

Since 1970 the number of regional companies has more than doubled, standards have risen, and from coast to coast, audiences have lent enthusiastic support to companies committed to artistic growth in their communities. "Fifteen years ago," says Doris Hering, executive director of the National Association for Regional Ballet, "70 percent of the ballet audience was in New York. Today, the figure is reversed."

The American Ballet Theatre since the late '60s provides a clue to this decade's ballet phenomenon. With its galaxy of stars—particularly defectors Mikhail Baryshnikov, Natalia Narkova, and most recent addition, Aleksandr Godunov—its repertoire of classics, and its increasingly well-heeled audience, ABT sym-

# STATE *of* the ART

## DANCE



The American Ballet Company's *Swan Lake* (above) contrasts to the Erik Hawkins Dance Company's *Lords of Persia*.

## Ballet glamor sets tone of '70s dance boom

bolizes the extent to which ballet has become the pastime of the decade's New Class.

As successive fads in solo sports and body conditioning have shown, the '60s counter-culture has merged with this decade's "body generation." The obsession with physical fitness finds in dance its quintessential artistic expression. Within the hierarchy of dance, ballet occupies the highest rung of the technical ladder. It has also come to symbolize the narcissistic aspects of the '70s. A ballet dancer must diet harder, exercise longer, and retire sooner. Her blistered toes are more than what a *Village Voice* writer called ballet's "dirty se-vry. For a generation of marathon runners they embody the abnegation and pain underlying the quest for physical perfection.

The boyish slenderness of bal-

let dancers has other connotations. To diet-conscious trend-setters, it suggests not only the perfectly-conditioned body, but the supremely fashionable one. In recent seasons, dancewear, from off-the-shoulder leotards to leg-warmers, has left the classroom for the beaches and discos. Ballet togs, like the ballet body, are not simply functional, but chic.

#### Glamor and gays.

A related aspect of the ballet mystique, which most lends itself to promotion in the media, is glamor. Glamor is inescapably a part of ballet—whether in the sumptuousness of productions originally created for the opera house or by association with the aristocratic graces of yesteryear. ABT has scored its biggest triumphs in the '70s precisely through this reference to the

past. By contrast to earlier decades, audiences in the '70s have embraced as artistic milestones the 19th-century classics of the Imperial Russian Ballet. And they are willing to pay royally for the privilege.

The ballet boom went hand in hand with the rise of the gay movement and growing toleration of gay lifestyles. The attention lavished on male superstars—Baryshnikov, Nureyev, Peter Martins, to mention only a few—reflects, in part, the role of gays in the ballet and publicity worlds. But celebrity status, as a recent ABC Afterschool Special showed, has also challenged the popular conception of male dancers as "sissies." More and more, little boys are turning up in once all-girl classes.

As the dance boom garnered national headlines, other signs

indicated that all was not well. In October 1976, the highly respected Paul Taylor Dance Company announced that it was "disbanding indefinitely." By 1977, several companies, among them the Joffrey Ballet and the Dance Theatre of Harlem, cancelled New York seasons. Although salvaged by emergency grants and corporate pledges of support, they brought public attention to the financial crisis threatening numerous companies.

#### Corporate funding.

Financial pressures, and particularly the trend toward challenge grants, have spawned a new breed of specialists versed in fundraising, grant-writing, and management. Companies accommodate their talents to fit funding sources.

Last February, Anna Kisselgoff devoted a *Sunday Times* column to the Houston Ballet, a company promoted and funded by the corporate elite to add "class" to the sunbelt capital. It has a "troika" of theoretically equal directors—artistic director, director of administration and marketing, and director of planning and development. The Houston Ballet, she concluded, was not only "the epitome of a company created by and controlled by a board of trustees" but "the model of what is possibly the American ballet company of the future."

Eugene Loveland, the company's president, is a vice president of Shell Oil. Serving as volunteer director of the Paul Taylor fundraising campaign was the marketing vice president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust. An organization called the National Corporate Fund for Dance actively seeks business support for what it terms "major" companies. ABT's "corporate friends" include the decade's leading culture moguls—Atlantic Richfield, Exxon, Mobil, and others—familiar to viewers of public TV. Indeed, the growing "corporatization" of dance, particularly ballet, promises to be a major trend.

The relationship between ballet dancers and their companies is already changing. On October 29, 60 of American Ballet Theatre's 77 dancers took to the street in tutus and toe shoes to protest a company lock-out. The management had declared the lock-out after the latest round of contract negotiations with the American Guild of Musical Artists broke down. Dancers demanded a two-year contract with raises in pay and expenses and payment of a Supplemental Unemployment Benefit for any weeks of unemployment during the year. The outcome of the ABT dispute will have major repercussions on dance organizations and union drives in the '80s.

Despite the enormous growth of companies in the '70s, few distinctive voices have emerged. Twyla Tharp, after a burst of innovative work in the early '70s, seems to have reached a creative impasse. Other post-modernists of the Judson Church generation have yet to move beyond their cult followings and reach a broader public.

In ballet, the situation is, if anything, choreographically bleaker. Although there are choreographers of talent, there is none of major stature. George Balanchine, the century's greatest choreographer and artistic director of the New York City Ballet, is now in his 70s and ailing. It is difficult to envision a successor.

Lynn Garafola is writing a book on the history of ballet.



# ... The Open Destiny of Life



By Frieda Gardner

Speaking of the days when her stories and poems were regularly rejected for publication, Grace Paley said in a recent interview "Out of courtesy to myself I would send them out again."

Paley's characteristic resilience shines out in this sentence. Like many of the people in the stories both she and her readers now find "so printable," Paley has a deep loyalty to herself that helped her to persist through the times when she had "no faith that anyone would ever be interested" in what she wrote. Her loyalty extends outward—to friends, children, community and also to the anti-war and anti-nuclear politics in which she is active.

Since the '60s, when "masculine literature was very popular and we saw the beginnings of all that anti-woman, anti-mother stuff," she has explored material that until recently has been all but invisible in fiction. Single motherhood (chosen or unchosen), growing up as a talkative, aggressive girl, friendship and allegiance between women, life and gossip around the sandbox in the public park: Paley was one of the first American writers to make these subjects alive and important on the page. But no matter what she is writing about, Paley honors those who fight estrangement.

Most of Paley's stories take place in New York City. And for all her famous warmth and humor, she has a sharp and canny sense of the conditions that hinder and distort the lives of people trying to make a go of it in their crowded and complex neighborhoods. Drug addiction, racial and ethnic tension, random violence, poverty, bureaucratic labyrinths, weigh heavily on her characters.

But the weight is for the most part not crushing. In one of Paley's best known stories, "A Conversation with My Father," the narrator explains why she doesn't write stories heavy with plot and fate: "It's not for literary reasons, but because it takes all hope away. Everyone, real or invented, deserves the open destiny of life."

Many prominent works of contemporary fiction are monuments of alienation, some designed to show that language is the machine that will trap us all, others showing how history, technology, and character conspire to fix us where we are. Grace Paley, while acknowledging the power of alienation, refuses these forms of despair. She is increasingly gloomy about our political situation ("The prospects for this world lasting are very bad"), but last year she helped unfurl a huge anti-nuclear banner on the White House lawn and got herself jailed for a few very "instructive" days.

"I don't feel alienated," she says. "I think a lot of the world is alienated. And I'm disgusted by a lot that goes on. But

I need to live in the world. All of us have got only this one time to do it, so I try to live as many pieces and parts of it as I can."

In the following interview, Paley discusses those "pieces and parts" of the life she tries to make whole.

*When you were an adolescent your parents turned against your writing. Why?*

I think that happens to almost everyone who writes. You're this nice verbal middle-class kid, you talk nice and they're so proud of you. Then you write a poem and everyone thinks it's wonderful, especially inside a middle-class Jewish culture. But then the family, and rightly so I think now that I'm 56 years old and have grown-up children, when you're 14 or 15 and you're still up in your room writing poems, they're thinking, "What's gonna become of that girl, how's she gonna make a living? She's not gonna make a living doing this, which we've encouraged her to do all her life. She can do this writing and get a job."

And they were right. All writers, in this country, should have some trade. Because you can't make a living writing. Bad news, but not news.

*How did you start writing stories for publication?*

The first few stories came out of a feeling of distress. I was in my early 30s, the mother of small kids, and I didn't like what was happening among the men and women I knew. We had always had lots of suppers, friends of my husband coming over, and I had thought that I liked it, and I *did* like it, but I suddenly had this feeling about their attitudes toward women, their women, who were my friends. I had a lot of camaraderie with guys, because my husband was a young soldier, and I lived on the army base and worked different jobs there.

And suddenly there was a feeling I began to have that it was *you* they were talking about, not that girl over there, and if it was that girl over there, it was *still* you. The only way I could think these things through was in stories. I had always written poems, but now I had a very pure, internal pressure to try to understand what the life of the community of men and women was all about. If I had never been published I would have written at this time, to clear my sinuses, so to speak.

*Do you agree with Tillie Olsen about how hard it is to write when you're raising children?*

Sure it's hard, but you do it. See, Tillie's 10 years older than I am and it was much harder for her because her young womanhood happened during the Depression. I grew up during the Second World War and the country was high on war, and a

"There's nothing holy about writing. It's a great gift, but the political stuff is just as important."

lot was happening. The Depression was one of the worst times to be young and want to write and to have to raise children.

*You've said that many of your stories, in both *The Little Disturbances of Man* (1960) and *Enormous Changes at the Last Minute* (1974) grew out of the time you used to listen to three old women talking on the street.*

That period was very important to me. I was lucky to be the youngest child and I was alone a great deal. I spent a lot of time on the street; you could hardly get me in. And the women talking on the street were important and exciting. I could hardly breathe. It was a whole life being discussed, an almost unknowable life.

*Is there a relation between the digressions in your stories and the way the women talked?*

Yeah. And I digress a lot when I talk. Story telling is like that. People begin to tell stories and they say, "Remember that year, she was really sick that year." Then somebody says, "No, that wasn't the year." And so on. I think that natural, human storytelling has this kind of division and development.

*Who are some of the writers who have been important to you?*

The writers who are important to me now don't seem to have anything to do with my work. Writers like Paul Goodman, for example. I love their work now for lots of different reasons.

The writers who have something to do with your work all happened early. For me, they were probably more poets than anyone else—Yeats or Auden. But also Joyce, Woolf, Gertrude Stein, because I was very interested in language. But these aren't the people I read now.

And the major literary influence on my life is the language of my family and my street. That's not really ever dealt with enough, that the literary influence is the life influence. And that the tongue you speak with is not the language you read in your books.

*When did you start getting involved in politics?*

I started in the early '60s with the Greenwich Village Peace Center. The Center was started not about the Vietnam War, which hadn't begun yet, but about the same thing that's going on right now—anti-war and anti-nuclear politics. It was

local, decentralized, everything that I sort of naturally gravitated toward. Before that I worked in the parks and in education, with the PTA. I worked a lot in the schools.

And the sort of people I met doing that work are all the people who grew with me and became part of the Greenwich Village Peace Center. We worked locally, but a lot of stuff came out of it, because it was the Village in New York—the Angry Arts [an organization of artists protesting the Vietnam War], Support in Action [a group that helped draft resisters].

*How have you kept from being discouraged when the media was saying there were no important political activities in the '70s?*

The idea that nothing was happening in the '70s is something that for the life of me I can't understand. The women's movement alone took up the first half of the '70s and engaged hundreds and thousands of women. And in the second half, the whole anti-nuclear movement began to take shape.

Of course, right after the Vietnam war people were exhausted and needed a rest. But you have to believe what you said in the first place. You may be more active one year or less another, but you're more faithful to yourself than anything else. I would sometimes feel bad with some of the people in the women's movement for whom it didn't include the issue of nuclear disarmament, the way relations between men and women have to do with militarism.

But many women do see these connections. And I've just never stopped believing that wars are terrible and so I try to do something, even if it's hard.

I've been arrested a lot. But the only time I was in jail for a long time was in the Women's House of Detention in New York, which is around the corner from my house, so I didn't feel so bad. I could look out the windows and see my kids. It's an important place to go. I advise anybody to go. It's like being in another country, like going to a severely oppressed nation. You meet people who live there year after year and you share their lives. What you don't share is the fact that you're not likely to come back much.

*Don't these activities keep you from writing enough?*

Sure, and so do the habits of digression I developed early, when I was raising kids. But the political stuff is equally important. There's nothing holy about writing. It's wonderful. It's a great gift to be given, to be able to carry through from your early years things that you imagined you might do. But it's only part of life.

Frieda Gardner is a writer who teaches English at the University of Minnesota.